



Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

*Dallas*  
*Smoot file is 67-1885*  
*↑*  
April 25, 2003

MR ERNIE LAZAR  
577 S. THORNHILL ROAD #6  
PALM SPRINGS, CA 92264-7884

*Facts Forum*  
Subject: SMOOT, HOWARD DAN

FOIPA No. 0954681- 000

*Dallas*  
*file*  
*62-2038 = in facts forum*  
*#1 = 6/26/51*  
*#29 = 6/6/72*

Dear Requester:

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Deletions have been made to protect information which is exempt from disclosure, with the appropriate exemptions noted on the page next to the excision. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted in the file to indicate where pages were withheld entirely. The exemptions used to withhold information are marked below and explained on the enclosed Form OPCA-16a:

Section 552

- ☒ (b)(1)
- ☐ (b)(2)
- ☐ (b)(3) \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ (b)(4)
- ☐ (b)(5)
- ☐ (b)(6)

- ☐ (b)(7)(A)
- ☐ (b)(7)(B)
- ☒ (b)(7)(C)
- ☐ (b)(7)(D)
- ☐ (b)(7)(E)
- ☐ (b)(7)(F)
- ☐ (b)(8)
- ☐ (b)(9)

Section 552a

- ☐ (d)(5)
- ☐ (j)(2)
- ☐ (k)(1)
- ☐ (k)(2)
- ☐ (k)(3)
- ☐ (k)(4)
- ☐ (k)(5)
- ☐ (k)(6)
- ☐ (k)(7)

132 page(s) were reviewed and 125 page(s) are being released.

- ☐ Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning other Government agency(ies) [OGA]. This information has been:
  - ☐ referred to the OGA for review and direct response to you.
  - ☐ referred to the OGA for consultation. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is finished.

☒ You have the right to appeal any denials in this release. Appeals should be directed in writing to the Co-Director, Office of Information and Privacy, U.S. Department of Justice, Flag Building, Suite 570, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001 within sixty days from receipt of this letter. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal" or "Information Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.

☐ The enclosed material is from the main investigative file(s) in which the subject(s) of your request was the focus of the investigation. Our search located additional references, in files relating to other individuals, or matters, which may or may not be about your subject(s). Our experience has shown, when ident, references usually contain information similar to the information processed in the main file(s). Because of our significant backlog, we have given priority to processing only the main investigative file(s). If you want the references, you must submit a separate request for them in writing, and they will be reviewed at a later date, as time and resources permit.

☒ See additional information which follows.

Sincerely yours,



David M. Hardy  
Section Chief,  
Record/Information  
Dissemination Section  
Records Management Division

Enclosure(s) (2)

This is in further response to your Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request regarding Howard Dan Smoot. Our records revealed one FBIHQ main file investigation identified as 62-2038. This file was processed accordingly and all releaseable pages are being forwarded to you.

Smoot began at  
Facts Forum 6/25/51 +  
resigned 7/55



Metford Evans  
was "Coordinator"  
for Dallas  
chapter of  
Facts Forum  
circa 3/55

Has 10/1/71  
issue of Capital's  
HoF on Kennedy  
- see approx last 20 pp

HL Hunt:  
2-3 yrs before  
Cost takeover  
Dallas MN = 1971

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**

**Freedom of Information / Privacy Acts**

**Release**

**Subject:** HOWARD DAN SMOOT

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

Serial Description ~ COVER SHEET      06/26/1951

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 7  
Page 47 ~ Duplicate  
Page 57 ~ Duplicate  
Page 58 ~ Duplicate  
Page 63 ~ Duplicate  
Page 81 ~ Duplicate  
Page 86 ~ Duplicate  
Page 88 ~ b1

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X Deleted Page(s) X  
X No Duplication Fee X  
X for this Page X  
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# SEARCH SLIP

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Searcher \_\_\_\_\_

## REFERENCES

### FILE NUMBER

### SERIAL

✓ Hunt, Haroldson Lafayette, Sr.

(3)

6/64

7/64

8/64

3/65

3/65

7/65

District Speakers, Inc. 9/65

10/58

8/64

3/65

9/64

12/65

3/66

105-1354-5

105-524-1359

105-524-1374

105-524-1461

105-524-1466

62-0-11,703

62-0-12,090

92-35-57

105-524-1374

p.3

92-154-13

157-406-1

157-50-854

62/3823-1

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-19-00 BY SP5 JUS  
954681

✓ Hunt, Haroldson Lafayette, Sr.

(4)

3/66

3/66

4/66

7/66

10-66

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10-66

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11-66

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11-66

157-0-149

157-0-149a

97-67-1

100-0-6468

100-10,402-197

p.9

100-11,172-14

p.4

157-50-1254

157-50-1274

9-0-1300

105-1280-394

100-0-6476

DO NOT SERIALIZED. RETAIN ON TOP OF FILE.

# SEARCH SLIP

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Searcher \_\_\_\_\_

## REFERENCES

### FILE NUMBER

### SERIAL

Hunt, Haroldson Lafayette, Sr.	9-60	62-2922-13	_____
	8-59	157-0-5	_____
WM	8-59	100-0-5870	_____
Hunt Oil Company	9-58	80-0-1114	_____
Hunt Enterprises	8-58	94-195-1,2	_____
✓ Former SAC Contact	2-58	9-1377	_____
	1-52	56-23	_____
	6-51	62-2038	_____
	10-48	9-691	_____
	10-48	67-425-560	_____
	10-48	67-681-9	_____
	1-61	94-47-1464	_____
	1-61	80-643-10	_____
✓ TV Series	2-61	94-0-100	_____
	2-56	87-3947-6	_____
	11/60	56-49-92	_____

Hunt, Haroldson Lafayette, Sr.	4/61	62-0-10,773	_____
(2)	10/63	94-106-4,5	_____
victim	12/63	9-1905	_____
WM	2/64	92-413-6	_____
Hunt Oil Company	3/64	80-19	_____
Hunt Enterprises	4/64	94-188-849	_____
Former SAC Contact	Vict. 9/64	9-2003	_____
	Vict. 2/65	9-2051	_____
	3-65	92-154-13	_____
	8/65	162-1-327	_____
	9/54	157-0-136	_____

DL-7

## SEARCH SLIP

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Searcher \_\_\_\_\_

## REFERENCES

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
Hunt, Napoleon Lafayette, Jr.	
(5)	
11-66	157-795*
10-67	157-50-1813
	105-2626*
	105-0-931
8-69	9-2512
4-71	159-89-2

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-7-05 BY SP5 [signature]  
93461

DIRECTOR, FBI

6/26/51

SAC, DALLAS

FACTS FORUM  
MISCELLANEOUS

The Daily Times Herald, Dallas, Texas, for June 22, 1951, carried an article entitled, "Facts Forums Spread - New Program Aims to Start Thinking." This article stated as follows:

" A movement is under way in Dallas this summer that already has spread to half a dozen other cities and is bidding to cover the entire nation in another year.

The project is Facts Forum, whose purpose is billed as 'to enlighten and inform the individual and the public.'

✓ It operates on the basis of many small chapters of some 40 members each who get together and conduct public opinion polls, which then serve as a basis for discussion of a wide variety of current issues on the part of the membership.

Facts Forum has enlisted a number of individuals in its founding stage, but the origin of the idea is credited directly to H. L. Hunt, Dallas oil man, who is genuinely disturbed at the frequent indifference on the part of the public at large to national and world affairs.

'Most people are disturbed about various aspects of the national and world situation of today, but all are busy with personal affairs and only a few people take the time to really inform themselves on situations and thus form opinions based on fact,' Mr. Hunt explained.

'We of Facts Forum believe that if people know the true facts, hear them discussed pro and con, they will then form logical opinions as to the best course to follow.

'Let's get one thing straight from the start. Facts Forum seeks to find the facts, not impose preconceived ideas on its membership. We must at all times stay strictly clear of partisan politics. We must make certain that the facts are determined on a broad basis, from the bottom up, and not handed out in decisions from the top down,' Mr. Hunt emphasized.

JHM:rgb

62-

Enclosures (3)

62-2038-1  
70-6545

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DATE 8-8-00 BY 285 JUS

Director, FBI  
re: Facts Forum  
Misc.

6/26/51

" The pilot group, Dallas Forum No. 1, already was busy this week with its first opinion poll. Cards were sent out on several issues last week to a select mailing list and returns were being received this week.

Robert H. Dedman, young Dallas attorney, is first president of the Dallas Forum No. 1, and is devoting considerable time and interest to Facts Forum as a whole, aiding other groups in organizational work.

'We feel that we have an idea that will take hold and spread rapidly,' Mr. Dedman declared. 'The response already has been very good. We've had inquiries from individuals and organizations in Dallas who are interested in starting other units, and groups are in process of formation in other parts of Texas and in several other states. Inquiries have come in from all over the nation.'

Months of careful planning and preparation on the part of Mr. Hunt and his staff preceded the actual opening the first chapter of Facts Forum. Several booklets outlining the organization and its purposes were written and printed. Headquarters have been established in the Mercantile Securities Bldg.

From the proposed plan of operation for Facts Forum is the following opening statement:

'... Participants shall direct an orderly study of the art of living and the science of government. They shall discuss and disseminate information on national affairs. They shall increase their fitness for self-government and become more worthy custodians of freedom. Since the knowledge of an individual does not become a part of the democratic process unless expressed, Facts Forum shall cultivate not only an informed but an articulate opinion.'

The founders of the movement are strongly convinced that the democratic process can continue to function properly only through an alert and informed populace, a people interested enough in government to find out what is going on and do something about it, Mr. Dedman declared.

'If Facts Forum is to grow and become an effective force, it must be through the efforts of the individual participants in

*1st Chapter*



Director, FBI  
Re: Facts Forum  
Misc.

6/26/51

"'in hundreds of communities throughout the nation,' Mr. Hunt said.

'I can help the forum get started, but that's as far as I intend to go. Any effort on the part of anyone to dictate a course of action to the forum chapters would kill the movement in a hurry.'

The basis of the organization's operation will be the opinion poll. Topics for the poll will be selected by the members themselves. Postcards will be mailed throughout the nation, and results will be compiled on local, regional and finally national basis.

The studies likely will include governmental science, fuller living and vital subjects which materially affect the ability of the earth to support life, such as soil conservation, mineral wealth conservation, water supply and others."

H. L. HUNT is the owner and operator of the Hunt Oil Company with headquarters in the Mercantile Bank Building and is reported to be the largest independent oil operator in the world. He is reported to be a multi-millionaire.

Enclosed herewith is one copy each of the following:

- A pamphlet entitled "FACTS FORUM Plan"
- A pamphlet entitled "FACTS FORUM a PROSPECT asks why Participate?"
- A mimeographed leaflet entitled "AWARDS FOR MEETING PROGRAMS"

Mr. HUNT reportedly wrote the two pamphlets himself and is reportedly financing Facts Forum, which is a hobby with him.

Former Special Agent HOWARD D. SMOOT has been employed by Mr. HUNT to head and operate Facts Forum. Mr. SMOOT began work for this organization on June 25, 1951.

The above is furnished to the Bureau for information purposes as it is expected that the Bureau will receive inquiries concerning Facts Forum.

Smoot  
6/25/51



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
1318 Mercantile Bank Bldg.  
Dallas, Texas

REPLY CARD  
THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



62-2038-2

62-0-6545a

SEARCHED <i>h</i>	INDEXED <i>h</i>
SERIALIZED <i>h</i>	FILED <i>h</i>
JUL 10 1951	
FBI - DALLAS	

FACTS FORUM

720 Merc. Sec. Bldg.

Dallas, Texas

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *7-8-02* BY *SP5 JST*

954681



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



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Phone PR-5676 if you wish COMMUNIST TRAIL IN AMERICA, CHINA STORY or some of the other books being circulated by Facts Forum. Get the Facts Forum plan for awards to be given for the best plans for meeting programs. Ask how you can become a Participant.

If you consider these questions important, please use your influence to have them studied and discussed among your acquaintances. If you have questions you would like to pose, please send them to us.

**FACTS FORUM BALLOT**  
VOTE THESE 3 "NO" OR "YES"

No Yes

- ☐ ☐ A. Should U. S. impose a naval blockade against the China coast? . . . . . Doak Walker
- ☐ ☐ B. Should U. S. continue Marshall Plan aid to countries exporting to Red China? . . . . . Mrs. J. E. Wyatt
- ☐ ☐ C. Should Congress adopt the proposed National Health Insurance program? . . . . . Poll Com.

**CHECK 2 (ONLY) OF 9 BELOW TO BE FEATURED IN LATER POLL**

- ☐ Should a majority of the full Supreme Court be required to concur in the opinion in a case between the Federal Government and a state? . . . Rep J Frank Wilson
- ☐ Should the U S conclude a separate peace treaty with Japan? . . . Roy F Creswell
- ☐ Should the crime of advocating overthrow of the government by force and violence be a capital offense? . . . Doug Rolater
- ☐ Should General MacArthur have been removed from his Far East commands? . . . Martin J. Corbett
- ☐ Should more stringent Federal narcotics laws be passed? . . . Lawrence DuMars
- ☐ Should the farm parity support prices be continued? . . . Ben Belt
- ☐ Is public indifference the greatest factor contributing to corruption in government? . . . Owen W. Cotton
- ☐ Should the government begin reducing the national debt now? . . . Carr P Collins, Jr.
- ☐ Should all governmental price controls be ended? . . . Mrs J. H. Wright
- The last two questions above ranked 3rd and 4th in the June 22 poll. The two questions below ranked 1 and 2 and thereby became questions for feature study and a poll July 17.
- ☐ Should nationalist forces be permitted and aided to invade the mainland? . . . Jerry Gilmore
- ☐ Should U S resist seizure of Iranian oil reserves by Russia through a puppet government? . . . Neely G Landrum

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Mail ballot promptly—discuss these subjects with your friends



7-11-51

MEMO SAC,

RE: FACTS FORUM

This is to record the fact that on 7-10-51, [redacted]

[redacted] stated that he had been

approached by DAN SMOOT, to participate in FACTS FORUM. According to [redacted] this is an organization financed by the Hunt Oil Co., and is a "pet project" of Mr. G. HUNT, president of the Hunt Oil Co. FACTS FORUM consists of individual groups consisting of seven men who meet to discuss current topics pertaining to our government. The seven men decide on one topic to be discussed and then they notify Mr. SMOOT who arranges to have a competent speaker speak to the group on that particular subject. [redacted] feels that this set up affords an excellent opportunity for the Communists to sway the minds of the group.

FACTS FORUMS is to consist of numerous groups of seven men, generally of the upper strata of the social ladder.

SA [redacted]

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
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62-2038-3  
62-2038-3  
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JUL 11 1951  
FBI - DALLAS  
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AUGUST 13, 1951

URGENT

MR. H. L. HUNT  
MERCANTILE BANK BUILDING  
DALLAS, TEXAS

YOUR LETTER OF AUGUST NINE, NINETEEN FIFTYONE, AND ENCLOSURES  
REGARDING FACTS FORUM, RECEIVED IN THE ABSENCE OF MR. HOOVER  
FROM WASHINGTON AND I AM TAKING THE LIBERTY OF ACKNOWLEDGING  
THEM. YOUR REQUEST WILL, OF COURSE, BE CALLED TO HIS ATTENTION  
ON HIS RETURN.

SINCERELY YOURS,

HELEN F. GANDY  
SECRETARY TO THE DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

✓ C: DALLAS

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-12-82 BY 285/PLT  
954681

62-2038-4  
62-0-65450

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
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AUG 15 1951	
FBI - DALLAS	

*R*

# FACTS FORUM

Information and Enlightenment

DALLAS, TEXAS

December 31, 1951

67-425-560  
67-684-9  
62-0 6545  
6598

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-8-02 BY SP5AJS  
954681

Gentlemen:

[redacted] has requested that we send you information about Facts Forum. Enclosed is a booklet which we hope you will find of interest.

Facts Forum is a kind of projection of the old New England town hall meeting idea. We have no ax to grind and no funds to raise. We are not trying to organize any kind of pressure group. We believe merely that in our kind of democracy the responsibility of freedom rests on the individual, and that the individual can fulfill that responsibility only if he is willing to inform himself and express himself on important topics which affect the welfare and destiny of the nation.

In addition to encouraging the formation of neighborhood and office discussion groups, we send out, every three weeks, poll cards like the one enclosed, posing questions on topics of current interest. The results of these polls are published in the newspapers.

We have a free circulating library from which Facts Forum participants may obtain good books on timely and important subjects.

Our radio program sponsored by the First National Bank in Dallas may be heard on WFAA 820 each Friday at 9:45 p.m. Our television show is on WFAA, Channel 8, on Saturday at 2:45 p.m.

We shall welcome the opportunity to give you any further information about Facts Forum that you may wish to have.

Sincerely yours,

62-2038-5

FACTS FORUM

[redacted]

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INDEXED

JAN 3 - 1952  
FBI - DALLAS

*no action*

Inspects . . . .

## ***FACTS FORUM*** **Plan**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 12-22 BY SP5/JS  
951081

A Prospect  
Inspects . . .

## FACTS FORUM

### Plan

#### AN INTRODUCTION

This is "Fred." Or it could just as well be his Aunt Alice, a recognized intellectual, his opulent friend Chester, his scholarly friend John, his neighbor's slightly precocious daughter Anne, his old classmate George, who has just never accumulated any of this world's goods, or George's light-hearted niece—none of whom may think in the vernacular used herein, nor in any similar pattern, but all of whom can, or could easily learn, to think.

Fred works pretty hard and plays hard, leading a very busy life. He reads with good understanding. The statements he reads and hears regarding public affairs he fits into a pattern which gives him some comprehension. His interest is limited. The acts of officials coming to his attention he generally disapproves—and frequently disapproves of the officials. In a vague way he hopes conditions will improve, but does not go to the trouble of deciding what will cause them to improve, or what would really constitute improvement.

He is invited at no cost to join Facts Forum to better fit himself for self-government.

The time he can give is limited. His work definitely requires much of his attention and energy. He has many commitments. He needs rest, recreation, and change. He enjoys small talk and games of chance and skill in which he takes part. He does not want to be regimented, nor loaded down with onerous duties; above all, he does not want to fail in, nor neglect, what others may expect of him. So he dreads new, uncertain, and additional tasks.



Upon being approached, Fred, mildly impressed, begins—

THINKING



ALoud

"These people talking about helping to run the country mean well—but what the heck! If they get a kick out of it, all right. I wouldn't, for it's out of my line. If they don't do any good, I suppose they don't do any harm; and if enough of them get steamed up and work right for the right things, they may do some good. But people are so dumb—most of them don't know what is good for them and some don't care. They don't know what to believe; come to think, I fall in that class—I don't. How can we know and, if we don't know, how can we help? How can we improve conditions if we don't ourselves improve? And that is no small job. It takes time. That, I don't have.

"Oh, I'll take time out to look at the Plan."

## FACTS FORUM

### PURPOSE

The purpose of Facts Forum is to inform and enlighten the individual and the public. The Participants constituting Facts Forum shall direct, maintain, and control an orderly study of the art of living and the science of government. They shall discuss and disseminate information on national affairs so that every member shall benefit from the understanding and intent of every other member, and each attain education beyond a mere training in salable skills. Expanding their horizons by making awareness of public affairs a part of their leisure, Participants shall increase their fitness for self-government and shall become more worthy custodians of freedom. Since the knowledge of the individual cannot contribute to self-government unless expressed, Facts Forum shall cultivate not only an informed but an articulate opinion, and Participants shall take all worthy steps to dispel apathy.

## **PARTICIPANTS**

Any American citizen or applicant for citizenship 15 years of age or older who is interested in such vital problems as water and soil conservation, the practical application of sound ideas to government, and how the actions of public officials affect his personal life and that of posterity is invited to become a Participant.

## **PROPOSED ACTIVITIES**

To cause many to speak, write, and think of the same subjects at the same time, Facts Forum will solicit and accept questions from public figures and respond with the results of its informed public opinion poll. Each question will be voted "no" and "yes" a second time fourteen days after the first vote to disclose the effect of study given it.

To provoke thought, Facts Forum circulates reading material, but does not thereby endorse the views presented.

In furtherance of study and for the purpose of discussion which will serve to impress facts and to develop Participants' personality, power of expression, and ability to convincingly present their views, neighborhood groups constituting primary units of Facts Forum will hold meetings.

In addition to the featured questions, study shall be made of governmental science, fuller living, and vital subjects which materially affect the ability of the earth to support life, such as the maintenance of the fresh water table, the conservation of soil and its mineral content, and their relation to the national health and economy.

Studies in forest preservation, reforestation, the planting of timber shelter belts, the creation and preservation of fresh water bodies, and the actual influence of such measures on climate, health, and economy are desirable; and consideration must be given to determining the point at which private effort becomes insufficient and governmental participation therein becomes necessary.

## **POLICY**

No unit of Facts Forum shall endorse any candidate for any public office, participate in any political campaign, nor engage in any lobbying activities, local, state, or national. Furthermore, individual Participants shall pledge themselves never to appropriate the name or to use the prestige of Facts

Forum or any of its units in any of the aforementioned activities. No questions dealing with controversial issues or subjects which are apt to become controversial in a political campaign shall be submitted or voted on during the 30 days immediately preceding a general Congressional election.

Facts Forum shall not discourage political activities, and Participants, in becoming members of Facts Forum, shall not waive or surrender any of their political rights, privileges, and duties.

#### AWARDS

Awards will be made for ideas to use in the battle to dispel apathy and to Enrollers for enlisting members. A list of the present award offerings, which include \$1,750 to be paid December 20 for material to use in supplanting this brochure, will be sent you upon your request addressed to 720 Mercantile Securities Building. Facts Forum may offer extension course work to Participants and assist in college courses if found practical.

Fred pauses to think:

"Some of this sounds good. What about this idea of saving the soil and knowing that the minerals required to keep us healthy are in it?

"I wonder if there should be fluorine dumped into our water supply to prevent cavities coming in our teeth? This may do more harm some other way than it does good in saving the teeth. What about DDT and other new wonder poisons making the meat, milk, and vegetables slow poison for us, producing Virus X and other brand new ailments, and accentuating heart trouble and other old ones?

"I have heard that everyone will be starving to death a hundred years from now if the soil is to continue washing down the river—a forty-acre farm every day, or every hour, or every minute, or something like that. It won't hurt me when the land fails and will no longer feed the population; but that will be a tough spot for my great-grandchildren. But I don't know what they'll be like and that's a long way off.

"I hate for kids to get killed off in some silly war which neither they nor their parents even knew was brewing. There're millions of people in the world they don't care anything about; so must they fight them and kill countless hordes of them in addition

to getting killed themselves? Do these wars and threats of war result from somebody's mistakes and vanities, or are they clearly necessary? Should we feed everyone we are not fighting? I would like to know which bunch hates us the worse?

"Would there be so many wars if we knew enough about public affairs to know they are being concocted? We might have missed this one, the one before, and even World War I. If we had known more, we might have been consulted, and if not, somehow made our presence felt.

"What about a contained war—trying to kill people but not hurt their feelings—anyway not offend their masters?

"Seems dizzy. I can't understand how wars get started anyway. I wish I knew more. It would be great if I could plan things so that everything would be better—or if I could even help. Of course, I can't, but maybe I can get some other people started who can do things—or rather a lot of us working together, trading ideas, and everybody—men, women, and children—all leaning a little in the right direction, and learning as much as we can easily learn, can correct or cure some of our troubles. Perhaps we can at least learn more about those who advise, admonish, and would aid us. We can get some idea of what are facts, and how to get more of them for ourselves and for other people, too. I wish everybody knew more facts, but I don't want to get into a lot of work—wonder how much it would take? I'm already tired, and it tires me to think—maybe I'm out of practice—I've lost the habit—it's just a matter of habit. The more you think, the more you can think. I see that proven all the time in using simple arithmetic and in playing cards; the more you can think, the easier it is to get your thinking done—as though you ever can get it all done—it would be too tiresome for anything then. I wouldn't want it that way—glad there is no danger of that.



"Now, if Facts Forum could be amusing and entertaining, that would be different. I would like to see some people I know wake up and talk.

“What a lot of us think and say, right or wrong, is public opinion. Our elected officials don’t want to buck public opinion—they won’t do it. If vicious, they may try to change our opinion and fool us into thinking differently, or just forgetting. They don’t know about informed opinion. If we are enlightened, they can’t do it. If we know our facts and are sure, they may squirm a little but will finally do right. Often they are not trying to do anything wrong; they just want to be re-elected. They think they must fool us in order to please us and get our votes. If we know what we are doing, their incentive to do or be wrong will disappear. It won’t please us for them to be wrong and they won’t keep on working at the job of being wrong. It is easier for them to do what is right because it works better. It is the same with appointed officials. The reason we have so many bad officials and poor laws is that we don’t know any better. If we were better informed, they would respect us, in fact, we would begin to respect ourselves—and gain confidence. The very worst happens and we want to be sore at somebody. Suppose we get sore at ourselves—get better posted and get things to working better.



“What am I saying? I don’t want to slave. Let whoever is supposed to—work at public affairs. I had about talked myself into the idea that we should be talking about things which vitally affect our daily lives—when we are not talking about anything more important or when we run out of anything to say. Talk more public policy and less private piffle. And when we talk, we should know a good deal about what we talk about, so we must find out what has gone on before, what others know, and what others think, and what are the Facts. This may not be so tiresome. I would like for people to find out what I know, and that I know something about what I think or I have strong reasons to suspect.

“Let’s examine the plan to see how they make it work.”



## PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

### 1. BASIC UNIT

- A. The primary unit shall be a group not to exceed 42 persons known as a Forum.
- B. The Participants shall select from their Forum a Board of Directors of 7 members which shall, in turn, select a President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. These three officers shall constitute an Executive Board which, when acting unanimously, will be authorized to manage the affairs of the Forum within the provisions of the constitution and by-laws of Facts Forum. Matters on which the Executive Board fails to reach unanimous agreement shall be referred to the Board of Directors to be resolved by majority decision.
- C. The Board of Directors shall select two deputies from its Forum to the next higher unit, of which the Forum shall be a part, and any other officers needed.
- D. A Participant shall not hold more than one position on the Forum Executive Board, but otherwise may act in as many different capacities as he may be chosen to fill. It is quite likely, but not required, that the Executive Board and other officers will be chosen from the members of the Board of Directors.

### 2. HIGHER UNITS

- A. All Forums domiciled within a county will collectively constitute a County Forum to be known by the County name.
- B. Counties in which the Facts Forum membership is small may join other counties to form a unit, the equivalent of a County unit, to be known as a District. After any county reaches a membership that so warrants, it may withdraw from the District and become a County unit. Entire Congressional districts within large counties should be made Fractional County units, the name to carry the Congressional district number, such as "Cook 10th District."
- C. The County and District Forums within a state will constitute a State Forum to be called by the name of the State.

D. The Forums of the various states will constitute the National Facts Forum.

E. Pending complete organization, the first highest unit perfected at any given time shall perform the duties of all contemplated higher units.

The government of each unit in Facts Forum shall be the same as all other units except the Participants elect the Board of Directors in Forums and the deputies to higher units elect the Board of Directors of their respective higher units.



### 3. AGE, SUCCESSION, AND VACANCIES IN OFFICE

A. High ability may develop and emerge from any age level in Facts Forum. Therefore, any of its offices may be attained by any Participant.

B. Throughout the Facts Forum organization all officers, except members of the Advisory Board, shall be selected for a three-year term with the end of terms staggered.

C. No officer shall succeed himself during the next eleven months following a three-year term.

D. Each officer shall choose his own substitute to serve temporarily during his absence; and upon his failure to do so his substitute shall be designated by the Executive Board of the unit.

E. All permanent vacancies shall be filled in the same manner as the original officer was selected.

### 4. STATUS OF PARTICIPANTS

A. Upon the application of any person endorsed by one Participant, the County Executive Board may accept the applicant as a Participant-at-Large to join or be assigned to a Forum within sixty days.

B. The Boards of Directors of Facts Forum shall assume responsibility for the continuance of the organization and for maintaining its activities in accordance with its expressed purposes. In the discharge of this responsibility any four members of the Board of Directors of the primary unit to which he belongs may discontinue the participation of any individual; and similarly, the Board of Directors of the next higher unit may discontinue the participation of any unit immediately under it.

C. Voluntary transfers of Participants from one Forum to another are encouraged to best utilize their enthusiasm and broaden acquaintance and viewpoint.

#### 6. MEETINGS

##### A. Forum Meetings

- (1) Each Forum will schedule and hold one regular monthly meeting some time each month, and any other meetings it desires.
- (2) Business of the Forum, election of officers, and reports of change of membership and other matters to higher units will be acted upon.
- (3) Discussion will be conducted to the extent desired by Participants attending the meeting.
- (4) In order not to burden and consume the time of the entire group at what might otherwise be an interesting and enthusiastic meeting, the Executive Board may hold its regular business meeting in open session following the discussion meeting.
- (5) During a period of slack attendance as few as three may hold the monthly meeting required to keep the Forum intact so that its Participants may continue Forum reading, study and voicing opinions. During periods of high attendance separate meetings for smaller groups may be arranged in order that more intensive participation may be had in discussion.

#### B. County and State Meetings

Meetings of Participants of the County and State Forums may not be practical and are not planned. In the event, however, an especially prominent speaker is available, such a meeting may be held. Meetings of the officials of the County and State Forums will be held whenever needed.

#### C. National Meetings

- (1) National conventions of the Participants may not be practical, but the deputies to the National Facts Forum will meet whenever their duties require, as will the Board of Directors. The National Executive Board will remain in session at the national headquarters.
- (2) Upon failure of the State or National Executive Board to reach unanimous agreement on matters before it, in referring the issue to their respective Board of Directors for decision, the Executive Board will be authorized to canvass the Board of Directors by telephone, wire, or mail, in which event each director's vote will count as one vote whether present or absent.

## II.

### VOTING IN MEETINGS

- A. Proxies and absentee ballots in voting in the Forums will be permitted, the votes having these values: for each Participant one vote if cast by absentee ballot or proxy, two votes if present and voting in person.
- B. The vote of all Deputies to higher units will have a numerical value equivalent to the total registered Participants in good standing which the deputy represents. This vote may be cast by proxy or absentee ballot and, if so, shall be counted in the same value as though it were cast in person.

### CHART OF PLAN

ONE PARTICIPANT and 41 others, maximum, constitute a neighborhood group . . . . .	42
This group selects a FORUM BOARD OF DIRECTORS . . . . .	7
Who, in turn, selects a FORUM EXECUTIVE BOARD* . . . . .	3
And also selects two Deputies to a COUNTY FORUM . . . . .	2
These two Deputies, with other Forum deputies, select a COUNTY BOARD OF DIRECTORS . . . . .	7
Who, in turn, selects the COUNTY EXECUTIVE BOARD* . . . . .	3
The Board of Directors also selects two Deputies to a STATE FORUM . . . . .	2
These two Deputies, with other County deputies, select a STATE BOARD OF DIRECTORS . . . . .	7
Who, in turn, selects the STATE EXECUTIVE BOARD* . . . . .	3
The Board of Directors also selects two Deputies to the NATIONAL FORUM . . . . .	2
These two Deputies, with other State Deputies, select the NATIONAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS . . . . .	7
Who, in turn, selects the NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD* . . . . .	3

\*Each Executive Board is composed of a President, Secretary and Treasurer.

### III.

#### SALARIED PERSONNEL

- A. A salaried co-ordinator and a Secretary will be required in counties in which there is a large participation. They will assist the officers of Forums in carrying on the work of Facts Forum within the county, assisting the County Forums in polls, and maintaining contacts with the State and National Forums.

- B. The Executive Board of the State will be paid salaries and will need some salaried personnel in tabulating votes in the polls, maintaining contact between various county organizations, between the State and County, and between the State and National Forums.
- C. The Executive Board of the National Forum will be required to remain in session constantly and the three officers constituting this Board should be paid a salary sufficient so that persons of limited means can serve, but leaving the opportunity afforded for accomplishment as the real reward. The National Executive Board will require the assistance of a sufficient number of paid employees to carry on the work of the national organization. Under no circumstances should it carry excessive personnel or build up cumbersome organization which would make of it a non-governmental, inefficient bureaucracy.
- D. As a safeguard to continued efficiency, the National Executive Board may require any State Executive Board to dispense with the services of any of its employees; and likewise, any State Executive Board may require the Executive Board of any lower unit to dispense with the services of any of its employees.
- E. All salaried personnel of Facts Forum will be Participants in a Forum, but will not be entitled to vote on any issue.

#### IV.

##### FISCAL AFFAIRS

No funds for the support and maintenance of Facts Forum shall be solicited except by authorized persons, and all contributions received shall be paid promptly to the various treasurers responsible therefor and by them disbursed on proper authority.

#### V.

##### CHANGES AND AMENDMENTS

Facts Forum shall always be and remain an educational association for dissemination of information, training, and enlightenment, supported by voluntary contributions, and shall never levy an



assessment, or dues, or make a charge against its Participants, and none of its property or earnings shall ever inure to the benefit of any private individual, except such as may be paid for services rendered it or such benefits as might be derived from the accomplishment of its educational purposes; and no substantial part of the activities of Facts Forum shall ever be carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation; and no part of its earnings shall ever inure to or for the use of the United Nations.

Subject to the above being strictly adhered to, five or more members of the Board of Directors of National Facts Forum shall be authorized to adopt alterations, amendments, or additions to the various provisions for the government, operation, and administration of all units provided no alteration, amendment, or addition shall ever be valid unless approved by a two-thirds majority of the Advisory Board hereinafter provided for.

## VI.

### ADVISORY BOARD

Dallas County Forum No. 1 has selected an Advisory Board. The Advisory Board is now and shall be constituted of a minimum of 7 and shall never exceed 500 members. They shall not serve on the Board of Directors of any unit. Three of the first seven members of the Advisory Board shall serve five years, two shall serve six years, and two shall serve seven years. Thereafter, each member shall serve six years, and none shall be eligible to again serve until the lapse of eleven months after the expiration of his last preceding term.

The Advisory Board shall select an Executive Board of three members to serve three-year terms, staggered as to the date of expiration, each being ineligible to succeed himself until a lapse of eleven months after the expiration of his last preceding term. The Executive Board shall hold title to all Facts Forum real estate.

In addition to its authority to ratify amendments, the Advisory Board may for proper cause by a two-thirds majority impeach and remove any official of Facts Forum. The Advisory Board shall perpetuate its existence and annually elect successors to all

members whose terms expire during the ensuing year, and it shall be authorized in its discretion to increase its number from time to time by the selection of additional members.

Members of the Advisory Board should make studies of the operation of Facts Forum and individually, or in groups not exceeding one-third of its total membership, issue advisory reports and recommendations to the National Executive Board.

## VII.

### JUNIOR DIVISIONS

If Facts Forum finds need for Junior Divisions, age limits will be altered so that youth, however young, may participate in fitting divisions.

## VIII.

### INTERNATIONAL SCOPE

With the organization of Facts Forum accomplished in the United States, the spread of its benefits to other nations is foreseeable. An international organization would necessarily vary from the uniform provisions of the organization in the United States. International extension should be contemplated only on a basis that its operation abroad would be self-sustaining and financed by Participants in foreign countries. Herein lies a hope for permanent peace.

"What a package — Let's take it apart!" Fred exclaims.

"About reading—I want to be entertained as well as informed. I may not want to read what others do. If not, I can promptly pass the book on and recommend Facts Forum circulate one which I think the public needs. It will be more interesting to read about subjects suggested by the questions in the polls because millions will be thinking about those same subjects and I can trade my impressions with some of them.

"Millions thinking about the same thing at the same time may do the trick. The Big Lie makes truth look prim and old-fashioned. A great deal of opinion, sound theory, and facts can help us regain our equilibrium. Maybe we have been overlooking something and Freedom is worth rescuing from the Big Lie. It's late—but not too late!



"I am not in the habit of talking in public—it may be that I don't do too well in conversation, but with a little practice I could tell what I know if I know it well enough. I could even hold up against the kind who usually have me paralyzed simply because they are so indignant, even when I know they are as wrong as all get out.

"There are some other people I would like to see in Facts Forum. Some of them are good talkers, some just good thinkers, and some just good people. But they all count if we are ever to have peace and get along real good. Hope I'm not beginning to sell myself on this.

"These meetings are like the old Town Meetings. The initial and primary acts in the Facts Forum government originate there, and we can pick the more willing and wiser among us to begin representing us and doing the work. The meetings are a little exciting. It is convenient to hear the subjects we are interested in discussed by someone who is prepared to talk. We can carry out a program which we ourselves plan and not one handed down to us from some super-committee.

"It is the people we elect in the neighborhood unit who will run it, and through their delegates, the County unit; through the County unit's delegates, the State unit; and through the State unit's delegates, the National unit. We ourselves and our representatives will be running Facts Forum at all times.

"I think this voting through representatives is a good thing because no one is then casting a vote for a person who is far beyond his acquaintance. It reminds me of the original idea for the United States presidential electors. If I don't get to a meeting, someone I have designated, who thinks as I do, will have my proxy and will vote my sentiments.

"I like the rotation in office feature which will keep all parts of the organization from ever going to seed.

"I don't want an office—see that Facts Forum has sugar-coated this one—an officer can name a substitute. I would accept under that condition, but I'm not running. They will have to draft me.



"I will vote in the polls, and I will probably let it be known how I am going to vote. In fact, when I am sure I am right, I'll be trying to get some dumb clucks who are wrong to vote right, for, as far as expressing informed public opinion is concerned, these polls are the payoff. It is fine to write your Senators and Congressmen, and maybe the President, but one vote in this informed public opinion poll may be equally as effective as a full-fledged letter.

"I have often thought it would be interesting to vote in any public opinion poll and to know some of the others who are being polled.

"The Facts Forum poll serves another purpose: it directs study and causes vast numbers (including nonmembers) to study and think about the same subjects at the same time. It brings into play group psychology—not the same thing as 'mob' psychology at all because it will not be blind, but instead intelligent and most far-seeing.

"It appears that in Facts Forum no one is trying to make any money out of me. I get the idea they are not looking to me to finance the deal. I can contribute money if and when I want to and can afford to. I think I can see why I'm needed: It is to help make this a genuine grass-roots movement of

thinking people who are to participate and govern themselves in a practical educational association and, I hope, in time prove they can also successfully govern themselves in an organization known as U.S.A.

"If it proves to be truly educational—and I am willing to help work at keeping it that—I am sure there must be vast amounts of money available for Facts Forum—the same as for other educational institutions—above the tuition which is paid by the students themselves. It is true that what Facts Forum offers is a practical education, but when coupled with experience and mature judgment, it becomes most useful in making important decisions and is all the better because it is practical.

"This is a lot of convincing argument I have sprung upon myself. My good sense tells me that this is my country and my government, and that it is my duty to be informed so that I may be able to act as an intelligent citizen. I am going to become a Participant. My weakness is that I may not persuade myself to crusade. Now, John, who is a little more in the know and a little more intense than I, has different ideas. Let's hear from John."

#### **A Factual Approach to the Understanding of the Problems of a Free Society**

"Every member of our society should benefit from the understanding and purpose of every other member. Each one of us has a stake in an education that is more than a matter of training in salable skills. If we fail to come to grips with the political, economic, social, cultural, and moral questions of this age, we will find ourselves unable to assume the full rights or to discharge the exacting obligations of the members of a free society. We have too long neglected an instruction which will give an understanding of the great questions of our day, questions which confront our free democracy and which can destroy our society if not understood and properly met.

"A statement recently made by Sir Walter Moberly, concerning the crisis confronting the British universities, may be applicable to our society: 'Broadly speaking, the university today is not asking the really fundamental questions. . . . Most students go through our universities without ever having been forced to exercise their minds on the issues that are really momentous. . . . Owing to the prevailing fragmentations of studies, they are not challenged to decide responsibly on a life-purpose or equipped to make such a decision wisely. They are not incited to disentangle and examine critically the assumptions and emotional attitudes underlying the particular studies they pursue, the professions for which they are preparing, the ethical judgments they are accustomed to make, and the political and religious convictions they hold. Fundamentally they are uneducated.'

"Public apathy has too long been the vogue of this age. The thinking public is beginning to be aroused by the plight of things in 'high places.' We might call to mind the convictions of such men as Alger Hiss. Even if some may claim that such convictions are on technical grounds, one must hasten to state that the implications are much more serious; for if men and women of well-trained minds and 'so generously endowed by nature and fate,' as Hiss is said by some to have been, can turn traitors for reasons not understood, must we not stop and ponder? It is evident that the 'fundamental' training which some receive does not fit them for the full understanding of the problems of life and the trusts that may be theirs as they become adult citizens. *Public apathy makes such things possible.*

"These incidents should awaken a growing sense of responsibility for the strengthening of those forces of American life which administer not only to the intelligence but also to the moral character and the spiritual dedication of our people. For is not one of our prime functions the fostering of intelligence, moral character, and spiritual values?

"The future undiscovered wealth of Americans will be created by determined men and women whose ideas will challenge the best that lies within us. Our future frontiers will no longer be physical frontiers alone, but frontiers of knowledge and the bold application of knowledge and integrity to the understanding of the vital problems which confront our democracy.



"It has been pertinently said that the great tragedy of our time is the acute shortage of statesmanship, a paucity which our nation did not experience in its earlier growth. Our nation became the great nation that it is because in the past it produced its share of great men. Were this not true we would not have survived the great test of the Civil War.

"Fortunately for us our performance has not been restricted to the field of politics alone. Ability in business, industry, and science has played a large part. Unfortunately for us at this time our age has exalted political mediocrity.

"The development of a new concept can make its import felt only in so far as the concept is made known and understood. Facts Forum reveals something that should be of especial importance to our free society at this time.

"The plan of Facts Forum provides an idea and a program by which one can be taught to distinguish between fact and fancy, truthful reports and false propaganda. This is of basic importance to us individually and collectively, for in our society decisions must be made by all of its members. It is therefore important that both adults and young people be trained for an intelligent participation, not only in the personal enjoyment of life but in government as well. The future survival of our society will depend on the intelligence of its citizens in the development of sound policies. Policies which we as citizens help to formulate will be policies which we will be eager to defend.

"Among the benefits which would accrue from a participation in the program of Facts Forum may be named the following:

**The acquisition of accurate information about the current political and social scene.**

**The ability to analyze the current problems in terms of the monetary, social, and political philosophies involved in them.**

**The securing of information which might lead to an application at a local level of the principles discussed.**

**The development of an ability and a willingness to discuss vital questions and distinguish between facts and fancy.**

The acquisition of information and facts and interest in vital subjects which have a bearing on national health and progress.

The inculcation in a Participant of the ability to detect in early stages an attempt to spread an insidious philosophy.

The broadening of contacts within a country, a state and the nation, thus enlarging social and political horizons.

The encouraging of a return to a more leisurely approach to living and learning.

The development of an *esprit de corps* within a community.

The creation in adults of a desire to do further study and broader reading.

The development of an ability to listen to and to examine with a more critical and selective attitude the programs of radio and television.

A training in the ability to speak and debate questions about which one has a conviction.

The over-all development of an awareness of problems which confront a free society and a desire to preserve at all costs those principles which have established and maintained up to now freedom in our glorious way of life.

"Such are the benefits available for the asking to us as free Americans. Let us hold fast to the trusts that are inherently ours. Let us take the accumulated wisdom of the ages and weave it into the best thought of today—preserving and making secure our Country, our livelihood, our institutions, and our homes. Let us perpetuate our search for truth that shall make and keep us a free people.

"Let us look forward to the dawning of a better day!"



[illegible]

**What you believe and say is public opinion.**

***Public opinion is a constant immutable force which can be altered or changed only by itself.***

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32

## LETTER FROM A FACTS FORUM FAN

Facts Forum  
Dallas, Texas

Dear Folks:

As an interested Participant I should like to make a suggestion.

During the holiday season people like to visit, and it seems to me this is a wonderful time to carry on Facts Forum discussions. It is such a simple procedure to organize a group that it is not an ordeal but rather a real pleasure.

We all feel the urgent need to do something constructive and helpful in these perilous times, and Facts Forum discussion groups can well be the first step, by making us more conscious of our lack of understanding of vital issues, and of our duty as citizens to safeguard our freedom.

When a few friends get together a pleasant hour could be spent in carrying on Facts Forum discussions. Pick the questions of interest on the ballot and there will be plenty to talk about. Those present will become so interested they will probably want to organize a Forum at once.

It is very simple. Name four women and three men for a temporary Board of Directors and then that Board can choose a temporary President, Secretary and Treasurer. These three become the Executive Board which calls future meetings.

You have then organized a Forum—it is just that easy.

Sincerely,

(Signed) MRS. CLYDE SIMS,

4814 Denley Drive

## AWARDS

**PROSPECTUS**—3,000 to 10,000 words explaining the Facts Forum plan, purpose and importance to the individual in a manner to encourage participation. Will probably replace all Facts Forum material, including "A Prospect Inspects Facts Forum Plan." Judging date December 20, 1951. Submittals will remain sealed until the contest closes. 1st, \$1,000; 2nd, \$250; for next eight best, \$50 each. Rush your entries.

**LETTERS TO EDITOR** for either side of any Facts Forum poll question or about Facts Forum. Each poll period awards. 1st, \$64; 2nd, \$56; 3rd, \$48; 4th, \$40; 5th, \$32; 6th, \$28; 7th, \$24; 8th, \$20. Send clippings, three if possible, of your published letter showing date, name of magazine or paper, and Facts Forum question debated.

**SLOGAN** for the following QUARTER YEAR use, such as "FIND THE FACTS AND YOU WILL FIND THE ANSWER." Each person may keep only one slogan in competition. When slogan is offered it remains in competition until withdrawn. Judgings last poll date prior to each calendar Quarter Year. For best slogan \$64.

**RECRUITER** awards will be paid each poll period to Forums which do not exceed the maximum membership whose members secure new members to join existing Forums or new Forums which do not exceed maximum membership. 1st, \$150; 2nd, \$125; 3rd, \$100; 4th, \$75; 5th, \$50; 6th, \$25. Submit petitions signed by new members or a certification of their names by the Executive Boards of the Forums they join.

**SONG OF FACTS FORUM** to stimulate interest. May be words set to old tunes or preferably new music. Send Facts Forum your song and start the song going. Judging date extended from December 20, 1951, to last polling date in April each year. Awards for most popular songs. 1st, \$300; 2nd, \$150; 3rd, \$75; 4th, \$40.

**FACTS FORUM POEM OR JINGLE** to stimulate interest. Send copy to Facts Forum. Publicize and promote use. Judgings of most popular will be made last poll date in April and October each year. 1st, \$64; and 2nd, \$32.

Poll periods end and judging begins 4 days prior to published poll dates.

Any changes in regard to awards will be announced in Facts Forum mailings.

Facts Forum needs your ideas, ingenuity and thinking. If you do not care for the monetary award, donate your winnings to your favorite charity.

**OPEN TO THE PUBLIC.** Please explain contest to friends.

Material submitted will not be returned but will become the property of Facts Forum for its use in whole or in part.

Decisions of Facts Forum Awards Committees will be final.

If you need further particulars, write or phone Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas.

## HOW TO ORGANIZE A FORUM

No special training or ability is necessary to start a Facts Forum. Anyone can do it. The only tools required are your own personal enthusiasm and determination. Assemble a group of people numbering from 7 to 42. Such an organizational meeting can follow the meeting of some other club or organization, or may grow naturally out of a purely social function.

Someone should preside until the election of a temporary chairman.

Proceedings should be opened with a brief talk explaining the advantages of organizing a Forum to act in a concerted and continuous drive to dispel public indifference.

In electing a Board of Directors, each person wishing to participate should write the names of 4 ladies and then 3 men. The 4 ladies and 3 men receiving the highest number of votes become the temporary Board of Directors. This is the simplest and quickest method, although the Directors can be nominated and elected from the floor, if desired.

If it is desired that someone not present serve as an officer, his consent should be secured by telephone.

The Directors should immediately retire to select a President, a Treasurer and a Secretary to act as the Forum Temporary Executive Board.

Each officer should select and announce a substitute. A date for the next meeting should be set prior to adjournment.

The Secretary should be directed to supply a list of Officers and members of the Forum to the next higher Facts Forum Unit and to request that a number be assigned to their Forum.

Permanent Officers should be elected as soon as the membership reaches 42 or within 90 days.

Experienced Participants in other Forums or a Coordinator will assist in later activities, if desired.

Forum meetings achieve freest exchange of information and opinion when they are conducted on a basis of the utmost informality consistent with orderly procedure.

The following describes a usual type of meeting:

Mr. Wilson Davis, President, called the meeting to order and first directed the attention of those attending to future radio, television and newspaper programs of Facts Forum. A motion was made and passed that members should, in turn, call these programs to the attention of their friends.



Mr. Wilson spoke by way of the drive being made to double the membership of the Facts Forum each month and recited interesting Facts Forum developments since the last meeting—some amusing, some enlightening, all quite entertaining and stimulating.

The President then stated that he had requested Mrs. George Jenner to act as moderator for the evening, and turned the meeting over to her.

Mrs. Jenner started the discussion by asking those to stand who wished to vote "Yes" on the first question appearing on the Facts Forum poll. She then asked those to stand who wished to vote "No," and finally requested those to stand who did not wish to vote on this question. A notation of the voting was made by the Secretary.

The moderator asked a gentleman who voted in the affirmative to state his position. This gentleman briefly explained why he voted "Yes" to the question. Mrs. Jenner then asked if anyone wished to comment on the gentleman's statement.

Several raised their hands and the Moderator called on them, in turn, for their comment. After about 15 minutes of general discussion, Mrs. Jenner asked members to vote again on the same question, whereafter the Secretary announced the change in the vote.

This same procedure was followed regarding each of the questions on the current poll. A great deal more time was expended on some questions than on others, depending upon the interest evidenced.

Many light moments developed during the discussion, as well as many moments of deep and serious consideration. At the end of an hour and a half, Mrs. Jenner invited members of the audience to suggest other questions which they would like to hear similarly discussed. After discussion of these new subjects, Mrs. Jenner returned the meeting to the President.

The time and place for the next meeting was selected and it was decided that the President will notify certain participants each to devote special study to one of the subjects to be discussed at the next meeting and come prepared to give a 4-minute review and, if they wish, act as Moderator for the discussion of the subject.

Meeting adjourned.



**BUSINESS REPLY CARD**  
FIRST CLASS PERMIT No. 4795, Sec. 34.9 P. L. & R., Dallas, Texas

***FACTS FORUM***

***Dallas, Texas***



[illegible]

Dallas, Texas  
August 17<sup>th</sup> 1951

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Mercantile Bank Building,  
Dallas, Texas.

Gentlemen:

An ex-F.B.I. agent gave  
a talk recently at a Rotarian luncheon,  
on the dangers of Communism,  
and at the conclusion of his talk,  
he invited Rotarians to join an  
organization called Facts Forum  
to combat communism.

I expressed interest in  
joining the organization. However,  
shortly afterwards I began to worry  
about what I had done for fear  
it might not be all that it was  
supposed to be - a 100 percent  
American organization.

I would greatly appreciate  
the courtesy if you will advise me  
if Facts and Forum has your official  
blessings. If it does not have, please  
tear up the attached card.

Any information you give  
me will be treated highly confidential.

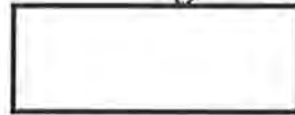
Thanking you, I am,

Very truly yours

P.S. The name of the ex-F.B.I. agent is  
Smoat.

1318 Mercantile Bank Building  
Dallas 1, Texas

August 21, 1951



b7C

Dear

I am in receipt of your letter dated August 17, 1951, relative to the "Facts Forum".

This office has no information relative to the above-captioned organization other than that which has appeared in the local newspapers. For your information, the Federal Bureau of Investigation does not sponsor any organization in any way whatsoever.

In view of the above information I am returning herewith the membership card which you forwarded with your letter.

Thanking you for your interest in this matter I remain

Very truly yours,

H. O. HARRIS  
Special Agent in Charge

7M  
Enclosure  
HOH:FB  
62-0

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-16-02 BY SP5 RJS  
6541661

62-203807  
~~62-203807~~

FBI, ST. LOUIS 2-8-52 4-47 PM JBH

SAC SXX DALLAS ... URGENT

67-425-560  
67-681-9

62-0-6545  
-6598

FFACTS FORUM, AKA FAX FORUM. INSTANT ORGANIZATION RECENTLY TRANSMITTED TO RADIO STATION KWOC, POPLAR BLUFF, MISSOURI, LITERATURE AND ONE RECORDING. SUBJECT IS IN POSITION TO SUPPLY SERIES OF RADIO RECORDINGS. FIRST RECORDING SUPPLIED TO RADIO STATION KWOC PURPORTS TO SET OUT LETTER FROM SOLDIER IN KOREA QUESTIONING THE FEASIBILITY OF THE CURRENT WAR IN KOREA. STATES PUPOSE INSTANT ORGANIZATION TO QUOTE INFORM AND ENLIGHTEN THE INDIVIDUAL AND PUBLIC UNQUOTE. SUBJECT-S ADDRESS SEVEN TWO NAUGHT MERCANTILE SECURITY BLDG., DALLAS. PLEASE SUTEL TONIGHT ANY RECORD INSTANT SUBJECT YOUR INDICES.

HOSTETTER

CORR TITLE SHUD READ "FACTS FORUM" ECT.

LINE 6 WORD 5 "PURPOSE"

END

OK FBI DL JA

V

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-15-97 BY SP5 BAST  
954681

62-2038-79  
67-425-560

SEARCHED <i>RA</i>	INDEXED <i>RA</i>
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 8 - 1952	
FBI - DALLAS	



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

HCB:MRW

67-425-560

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

FBI DALLAS 2-8-52 (5:20) PM CST

SAC ST. LOUIS URGENT

FACTS FORUM. REURTEL. THIS ORGANIZATION IS FINANCED AND BACKED BY  
MILLIONNAIRE OILMAN H. L. HUNT, OWNER AND OPERATOR OF HUNT OIL CO.,  
DALLAS, TEXAS. HUNT REPUTEDLY HAS GREATEST DAILY INCOME OF ANY PERSON  
IN U. S. IT IS DESIGNED TO CREATE INTEREST ON PART OF THE PUBLIC  
IN NATIONAL AND WORLD AFFAIRS. PUBLIC OPINION POLLS ARE CONDUCTED  
AND THE INFORMATION DISSEMINATED TO THE PUBLIC. THE GROUP HAS  
SPREAD TO SEVERAL CITIES OTHER THAN IL. FORMER SA HOWARD D.  
SMOOT HOLDS POSITION WITH THIS ORGANIZATION. THE BUREAU HAS  
STATED THAT NO COOPERATION WHATSOEVER IS TO BE FURNISHED THIS  
ORGANIZATION IN THE EVENT IT IS REQUESTED. NO INFO AS TO ANY SUB-  
VERSIVE MOTIVATIONS.

MUMFORD

END

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-8-82 BY SP5 JST  
954681

Approved:                       
Special Agent in Charge

Sent 5 33 PMPer                     

62-2038-76  
67-425-560

[REDACTED]

Feb. 20, 1953

TO: Lee Boardman

FROM: [REDACTED]

COPIES: J. Edgar Hoover

SUBJECT: H.L. Hunt, the Facts Forum and suspected Communists  
in the Forum

When I was in Texas on vacation last December I  
was introduced to Mr. Hunt, Dallas Oilman, through [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and like many other  
unsuspecting people, was considerably surprised to find  
"influential" citizens of the town descending on him like a  
ton of brick, protesting to [REDACTED]  
to have him silenced [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

was anxious to consult me on what he should do.

This is by way of introducing Mr. Hunt and the Facts  
Forum. It was a few days after this, on a Sunday morning, that  
[REDACTED] called me at the Adolphus Hotel. I had been visiting  
during the interval on [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]  
told me that he and Mr. Hunt had been trying to locate me  
everywhere, had put in calls to New York and to [REDACTED] finally  
locating me at the Adolphus through [REDACTED]

(MORE)

62-2038-8

~~62-03~~

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAR 2 - 1953	
FBI - [illegible]	

*[Signature]*

He told me he had been helping Mr. Hunt with some writing at the latter's home, and in course of conversation had mentioned my name and what I had told him about UNESCO and Communists in the United Nations. Mr. Hunt was interested, he said, and demanded where he could find me and: "How much do you suppose they pay that fellow?" [redacted] told me confidentially that Mr. Hunt was eccentric but at the same time was the biggest independent oil operator in this country. "You don't get ahead in the oil business if you are short on brains," he said. He thought I should meet Mr. Hunt and listen to him, at least; it might be to my interest.

As a result, Mr. Hunt called me at the hotel, [redacted] and I met him about noon at his office in the Mercantile National Bank Building, and later had lunch with him.

This brings the story to New York, to [redacted]

I was called from here by Mr. Hunt on a Monday morning, the second week, I believe, in January. He wanted me to come over for lunch. I told him this was out of the question, I was [redacted] and wouldn't be free until 7 p.m. He had other plans for the evening, and as it turned out I didn't see him before Thursday, although we had had a number of telephone conversations.

Mr. Hunt was preparing for a television appearance Friday night, relating plans to expand his Facts Forum activities, and he wanted my help in preparing the script. [redacted]

[redacted] who shared the apartment with Mr. Hunt, had lunch, and during the afternoon we worked on the script. There were a flock of people in and out, and I am listing the following names:

[redacted] a female wheelhorse, [redacted] and a woman of supreme confidence in what she was doing and of her position with Mr. Hunt. She represented herself as a housewife and looked the part-- portish and comfortably situated. She said she had been aroused last spring over the Communists menace through contact with the Facts Forum and was now devoting all her time to the fight against Communism through the Forum.

[redacted] a brisk, sharp young man who works in closest co-operation with [redacted] and who has easy contact with important radio and television personalities and officials in New York. Also a wheelhorse in Facts Forum organizing work.

[redacted] beautiful and brainy, also a wheelhorse working with [redacted] and

(MORE)

b7C



[redacted] in Facts Forum organization in New York City.

My feelings about Mr. Hunt from the beginning were that he had a great deal of information, that he knew Gen. Douglas MacArthur and most well-known anti-Communists of the country, but that he needed educating as to basic Communist tactics and policy. Properly guided, I felt, he could be of great service in lending financial support to magazines like "The Freeman," which was then facing a doubtful future, and publishing ventures similar to the Devin-Adair Company. As for a job with the Facts Forum, I had decided before this to have nothing to do with it and the more I saw of the operation the less I wanted to become involved.

But that Thursday afternoon, in my efforts to "educate" Mr. Hunt, I persuaded him to let me call a woman who knew more about fundamental Communist thinking and could explain it better than anyone I knew.

Mr. Hunt agreed, and I called [redacted] I had talked with her confidentially about such a meeting before, and after I had talked with her a moment, I introduced her to Mr. Hunt over the phone. He invited her over.

[redacted] arrived about 2 p.m. and remained all afternoon. and was Mr. Hunt's dinner guest, along with [redacted] and others that evening.

I'll go back to add that while [redacted] was in the apartment that Thursday afternoon, [redacted] were also present, as was [redacted] In fact, when I first suggested to Mr. Hunt that he should meet [redacted] it was Bill [redacted] eagerness to meet her also that caused Mr. Hunt to agree to have her over. It can be explained that Mr. Hunt was anxious over his TV script and wasn't inclined to have visitors--except for the above named who seemed to come and go at will. The telephone was ringing frequently during the afternoon. I recall that former President Hoover's secretary called once. and [redacted] brother was on the phone twice. [redacted] had been visitors the night before.

Mr. Hunt, it should also be said, was proud of what Facts Forum was accomplishing, and to me, and later to [redacted] he insisted on playing back a tape recording of some of the broadcasts that had been made, giving "both sides" of controversial questions. I recall him relating several times that [redacted] had listened attentively to one of the recordings and then had remarked-- "But why do you make the Left side sound so good."

[redacted] were anxious to promote a forum discussion for the following Sunday afternoon, in co-operation with Dr. Norman Vincent Peale's church, at the Hotel La Martinique. Alice was persuaded to take the Right (or Anti-Communist side) and some one else was persuaded to take the "liberal" side. [redacted] told me this was held but I wasn't there.

(MORE)

b7C

Mr. Hunt was anxious to get something in the papers about the Facts Forum, and the next day, Friday, I whipped out a release and took it over to the Waldorf. I went over it with him and made a few changes. It was assumed, I learned with some surprise, that I was going to type out the releases. I explained that it was customary to have a stenographer do this work, that I had an appointment and wouldn't be able to do anything more that day. (I had devoted my two days off, without pay, and had about all I wanted.) [redacted] who answered the phones and attended to details for Mr. Hunt, then called a stenographer and ordered three copies. Next day, Saturday, I left one of the copies with [redacted], took one myself, and left the third. Sunday was Jan. 18, and I was lucky to get three paragraphs in the paper on the Facts Forum, with the Inaugural coming up Tuesday.

That was the last I saw of Mr. Hunt, although he remained in town, I knew, for about two weeks longer. I heard from Alice that [redacted] anxious to meet people who might join the Facts Forum, had been introduced by [redacted]

During this time also affairs came to a head at "The Freeman," and [redacted] were forced to resign. In an effort to get financial backing to get them back into business, [redacted] said she called Mr. Hunt and he agreed to see [redacted] and had her over to the Waldorf for dinner. Nothing ever came of the meeting.

Mr. Hunt was back in town two weeks ago, and called me from the Waldorf. He wanted some information which I looked up [redacted] and sent over to the hotel without going myself.

I may as well break in here to say that my impression was that something was bad wrong with the setup-- something you couldn't put your finger on. It was just something (I even thought of some sex perversity) I didn't want to become involved with.

Now for the purpose of this lengthy, gossipy letter. [redacted] called me the other day to say, "What is the background of this man Hunt you introduced us all to. He has succeeded in alienating every anti-Communist in town."

She told me: "I've been lecturing at [redacted] on basic Communism. I've been dropped by this Hunt crowd like a hot stone. I've seen [redacted] in the audience when I've been talking. But they never came near me. I caught [redacted] expression one night, and he could have murdered me. I made it a point one night to intercept them before they could leave. We just spoke and that was all. But I've been getting reports from others in the club and everybody is suspicious over these three. I introduced them to the club and everybody comes to me, wanting to know what their background is. [redacted] told me that she questioned [redacted] one night about the kind of questions the Facts Forum uses on its postcards. She called them slanted questions, and they are slanted-- in favor of the Left.

(MORE)

b7C



[redacted] told me that this [redacted] is trying to worm her way into the club. Everybody wants to keep her out but the club is not a closed organization and there's no way to keep her out."

[redacted] said: "One thing emerges from all this. They always drop any tried and trusted anti-Communist. I am told that one person they dropped is a [redacted] an anti-Communist. I don't know him. But I've been dropped. [redacted] been dropped, you've been dropped and others have been dropped. The only people they are after are ordinary, 'liberal-minded' people who wouldn't know a Communist if they met him face to face. Don't take my word for it. Talk with these people in [redacted] Everybody up there is talking about it."

b7C [redacted] asked me if I knew who interested Mr. Hunt in the Facts Forum in the first place-- "who sold him on the idea." She then expressed this thought, that the radio commentator, Dan Smoot, a former F.B.I. agent, is all right but is a tool of some one-- besides Mr. Hunt-- who actually operates the forum. It would be of interest to know who this person is-- who writes the stuff? Who are [redacted]

I don't know. I don't know who [redacted] is. He told me he has [redacted]

[redacted] did some research in Communist party literature and came up with the following from the Party Organizer on forums: November-December 1952, No. 11-12, Vol. 5-- Hints for organizing forums, P. 39, by Sidney Bloomfield. Also March-April 1952, Vol. 5, No. 3-4 p.30 Agit-Prop work for use in open forums. Also p. 31, same issue, "We must also cut down the time of our own speakers. We must create the atmosphere that impells workers to take the meeting as (Their Own)." This last, Alice says, is a Communist party slogan.

"These three, [redacted] keep using those words," [redacted] said, "-- their own. The purpose of these forums is to make the members feel they are their own."

Finally, this has been a long, loose, gossip report. May not be anything to it. But [redacted] thinks there is and has urged me to make a full report. With Mr. Hunt associated (in publicity anyhow) with Gen. MacArthur, [redacted] says, everybody, [redacted] included, have talked confidentially and freely to Mr. Hunt--"with all those others around. If this is a Communist apparatus, it's as dangerous as any in the country." Thus [redacted] If you consider this important enough to bear looking into, I urge that somebody talk to her about it.

[redacted]



Director, FBI

SAC, New York

H. L. HUNT AND FACTS FORUM  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

2/27/53

b7C

For the information of the Bureau and Dallas Office, there is attached a self-explanatory letter dated 2/20/53, received from [redacted] letter has been acknowledged.

A review of the files of the NYO reveals no information concerning Facts Forum or identifiable information on H. L. HUNT.

No action is contemplated by this office in this matter, and it is being referred to the Dallas Office for any action deemed advisable.

Enc. (1)

① - Dallas (info) (Enc. 1)

BJO:RED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-22-82 BY SP5 JST  
954681

62-2038-9

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 2 - 1953	
FBI - NEW YORK	

1 KM

Dallas, Texas  
February 24, 1953

MEMO, FILE:

Re: COUNCIL ON WORLD AFFAIRS, and  
FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION;  
SECURITY MATTER

b7C

On 2-20-53 Mr. H. L. HUNT of the Hunt Oil Company met the writer and asked him to his office. He there handed to the writer an envelope containing certain documents listed as follows:

Letter dated 2-2-53 signed [redacted]  
enclosing a 3-page blind memo on [redacted]

A sheet of Waldorf-Astoria Hotel stationery which Mr. HUNT said contained notes prepared for him by [redacted] who had in turn secured the information, as indicated by a note on the paper, from [redacted]

[redacted] and having as an attachment a folder of the Foreign Police Association.

A 4-page blind and unidentified memo captioned "The Council on World Affairs", which, he said, had been furnished him by an acquaintance, not otherwise identified.

Letter dated 1-21-53 to Mr. HUNT from [redacted]  
[redacted]

27 Photographic copies of various items of correspondence, and

A letter dated 1945 or earlier, which, Mr. HUNT stated, give a picture of the background of the captioned organizations.

Photographic or photostatic copies should immediately be made of the documents, so that the material can be returned to Mr. HUNT, and we will thereafter be able to analyze it and submit such as is pertinent to the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-9-02 BY SP5 RST  
154681

62-2038-10

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
1 11 1953	
FBI - DALLAS	

JKM:FB

Memo 2-24-53  
Council on World Affairs, etc.

In the meantime, a brief summary will be prepared on any ramifications of the captioned organizations which extend into Dallas. It might be noted Mr. HUNT claims the Council on World Affairs is, in his opinion, an "Atchison Front", and that

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] It should further be noted that the item referred to above on the stationery of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, according to Mr. HUNT, is a listing of the persons in the captioned organization as listed in the comparative seriousness of their alleged "subversive" or dangerousness status.

b7C

J. K. MUMFORD  
SAC

ADDENDUM: After dictation of this memo, Mr. H. L. HUNT called me on 2-23-53 and asked for the return of the above listed material. He stated that he had to have it for review and would return it as soon as possible. No further action should be taken on the matter until and unless he contacts the office and returns the material.

DIRECTOR, FBI

3-13-53

SAC, Dallas

FACTS FORUM,  
H. L. HUNT,  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Reference is made to letter from New York to the Bureau dated 2-27-53, bearing the above caption.

Mr. H. L. HUNT is widely known, due to his position as head of the Hunt Oil Company. He is reputedly fabulously wealthy, not particularly insofar as net assets are concerned, but rather because he supposedly has the largest individual income in the world, variously estimated at as much as \$5,000,000 weekly. References will be found to him in the Bureau's files, probably in the personnel files of former Special Agents HOWARD B. SMOOT and [redacted] who entered his employ after leaving the service of the Bureau. Mr. HUNT maintains several residences in the Dallas area, principally one known as Mt. Vernon, and maintains his general headquarters in the Mercantile Bank Building.

Some years ago Mr. HUNT became imbued with the desire to assist the American people by a program of education and enlightenment which would make them aware of the problems of the day. He was reportedly personally concerned about the alleged socialistic trends of the national administrations in power from 1932 to 1952 and their alleged sympathy toward the Communist regime.

Mr. HUNT accordingly instituted an organization known as "Facts Forum" but tried to keep his influence in it hidden from the public view until just recently. The Bureau will recall that he employed former SA SMOOT, who is now his principal radio and TV commentator and moderator, and that he employed [redacted] in research and public contact work for the organization until [redacted]

Since early 1952 Mr. HUNT has devoted a high percentage of his time to promoting Facts Forum, rather than his former practice of concentrating on his oil operations.

b7C

cc - New York  
Chicago 6-8-53

62-2035-11



DL Letter 3-13-53  
Re Facts Forum

The writer has had occasion to become acquainted with Mr. HUNT, who has talked to him at considerable length regarding Facts Forum. It might be noted here, however, that the writer has found it practically impossible to gain a proper understanding or knowledge to define the organization, since Mr. HUNT talks in a very vague, incoherent, and rambling manner, apparently assuming that everyone is so well acquainted with his project that he need not give any background to his current thoughts. He has advised the writer generally of his recent visit to New York and Chicago and indicated that the objective of that travel was to interest some associates in Facts Forum, so that he could put on a \$1,500,000 annually national weekly TV show along the lines he has promoted in the Dallas area with former SA HOWARD D. SMOOT acting as moderator with a panel of "experts" discussing both national and international bills.

On February 14, 1953, Mr. HUNT called the writer and advised that [redacted] had just arrived in Dallas to give a speech in one of the large local auditoriums, sponsored by Facts Forum. He asked the writer and his wife to join with [redacted] in having dinner at his home that evening.

During the course of the evening the talk was generally concerned with Facts Forum's objective of helping educate the public to know and to think with all the facts on questions of concern to the country. On the following day Mr. HUNT had a tea at his home, which the writer and his wife attended and which was otherwise attended by invitation by approximately 40 of the leading public figures in Dallas. The invitations mentioned only [redacted] and Facts Forum.

It may be of interest here to note that [redacted] since his retirement, has been affiliated with [redacted] which has as its objective inducing persons of means to finance research and treatment projects, such as those which have been undertaken for infantile paralysis and heart ailments. Several months ago [redacted] visited Dallas and visited in the writer's home in connection with a trip here to try to interest Mr. HUNT in [redacted] program, but at that time [redacted] was not successful in reaching Mr. HUNT. Subsequently Mr. HUNT, although this was not publicly known, became extremely interested in contributing his personal influence and finances toward having General DOUGLAS McARTHUR enter the race for Republican nominee for President. In that connection Mr. HUNT traveled to New York and Chicago to talk with General McARTHUR, but found [redacted] ever present as McARTHUR's

b7C

DL Letter 3-13-53  
Re Facts Forum

front man. Mr. HUNT thereby became interested in [redacted] apparently as a means of reaching General McARTHUR concerning the presidency, and ever since the presidential campaign has had frequent contacts with [redacted]

On the basis of my personal friendship with [redacted] there is no question in my mind but that [redacted] interest in Facts Forum is solely to use it as a vehicle for maintaining his association with HUNT, for the purpose of eventually having HUNT finance a major project for [redacted]. In private [redacted] mentioned briefly to me that he is trying to outline a research or treatment undertaking of large enough proportions to gain the interest of a man like HUNT, since the latter is the type that, if his Facts Forum project wanes, will turn his interest to something else which he must think his own idea and worthy of his abilities. [redacted] was in Dallas on his most recent visit to make a speech on the evening of February 16, 1953, which was sponsored and financed with no admission charge by Mr. HUNT through Facts Forum. [redacted] advised me, however, that Mr. HUNT had not even suggested a topic and that he therefore was delivering a speech on matters of his own interest.

There is no question but that Mr. HUNT is violently anti-Communist and furthermore, he is almost equally rabidly anti-Socialistic and would not knowingly permit anyone on his payroll or associated with him whom he did not think to be of the same mind. His interests, however, since he came to Texas some twenty years ago have been so thoroughly absorbed with his development of his fabulous oil company that his worldly wisdom along other lines is probably not deep and in all likelihood persons who have gained his trust could easily divert the direction of his radio program. The background and identities of the persons associated with him in the Facts Forum, other than former SAs HOWARD D. SMOOT and [redacted] are not known, and under the circumstances, it would not be discreet that any inquiries concerning them be made. The writer will, however, find out something about them and will communicate further with the Bureau in that regard at a later date.

b7C



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, DALLAS

DATE: April 14, 1953

FROM : SAC, OMAHA

SUBJECT: FACTS FORUM  
MISCELLANEOUS - PUBLIC RELATIONS100-0-4017  
67-425-56

207-681-9

[redacted] contacted  
the Des Moines Resident Agency on April 9, 1953, and advised as follows:[redacted] is in receipt of a radio program  
and publication issued by "Facts Forum." [redacted][redacted] stated that the records and material received so far indicate  
that it is material, both pro and con, regarding current events of public interest.  
He also advised that there is nothing in the material to date which would appear  
to be of a subversive nature. [redacted] is desirous of utilizing this program,  
but declares that it is the type of program that can be twisted by a few words to  
favor almost any fact or cause.It will be noted that [redacted] is a good source of information and con-  
tact man for the Des Moines Resident Agency of the Omaha Field Division, and has  
always been most cooperative with the Bureau as regards publicity and in any way  
he can. He has been utilized from time to time to obtain information for the  
Bureau when it was not desirable that the Bureau's interest in a matter should be  
known.The Dallas Office is therefore requested to discreetly ascertain, if  
possible, [redacted] and the "Facts Forum" have a reputable standing in  
Dallas, and if there is any reason known that would indicate the program might  
tend to be of a subversive nature or of partisan viewpoint.RED/jm  
62-0AIR MAILALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-9-02 BY SP5 PJS  
95168162-2038-12  
SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED  
APR 15 1953  
FBI - DALLAS

b7C



SAC, OMAHA

4 29 53

SAC, Dallas

FACTS FORUM  
MISCELLANEOUS - PUBLIC RELATIONS

b7C

Reurlet 4-14-53, advising of the inquiry received from  
[redacted]

Facts Forum has been in operation for several years. Former FBI Agent HOWARD D. SMOOT is the principal radio and TV commentator and moderator. The project is a brain-child of Mr. H. L. HUNT, the fabulously wealthy oil man of Dallas, Texas, who is well known to the writer.

The stated objective of the organization is to make the public cognizant of the national and international problems of the day by presenting both sides in a factual manner to stimulate interest and thinking. On the radio, usually Mr. SMOOT presents one side in half the time allotted and then reverses himself and presents the other side in the remainder of the allotted time. On the TV program he customarily acts as moderator with two invited guests advocating one side of the question and two advocating the other.

During 1952 the organization attempted to set up local and community groups under volunteer local moderators to discuss problems. They realized some success, not only in Texas but in other states.

Mr. HUNT makes no secret of the fact that he is violently isolationist and opposed to the New Deal and the Fair Deal. He offered strong backing to General McARTHUR to seek nomination for the presidency, but through influence on the part of General McARTHUR and the latter's friend, [redacted] b7C

[redacted] Mr. HUNT lent backing to General EISENHOWER.

Mr. HUNT traveled to New York, Chicago, and other points in recent months attempting to solicit backing for his project from financiers and other persons already in the "anti-Communist" and "anti-foreign entanglement" fields, so that he could expand his radio and TV coverage to national scope. He recently advised the writer that he had not been successful in his efforts, which unconfirmed advice has been received by agents of this office in conversation with Mr. SMOOT to the effect that Facts Forum is

JKM:FB

62-2038-13

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-1-02 BY 954681

DL Letter 4-29-53  
FACTS FORUM

expanding through use of "canned" programs to several hundred stations throughout the country.

It would appear from the remarks you received as set forth in your letter of reference that the personnel of Facts Forum have secured the sponsorship of various individual companies for particular outlets.

No information has come to the attention of this office that Facts Forum is other than reputable, although it is understood, unconfirmed, that the organization is a controversial question among others in the same general line and that it is a recognized fact that Mr. H. L. HUNT is personally disliked by many persons not only in Dallas but among those whom he has contacted in eastern and northern metropolitan centers in connection with the instant program.

Director, FBI

June 8, 1953

SAC, Dallas ( 62-2038)

COUNCIL ON WORLD AFFAIRS AND  
FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION.  
INFORMATION CONCERNING.

Reference is made to my letter dated March 13 1953, captioned,  
" Facts Forum; H. L. HUNT; Information Concerning," wherein  
background information was set forth concerning Mr. H. L.  
HUNT, who owns the HUNT OIL CORPORATION Dallas, Texas  
and is the sponsor of Facts Forum.

Very recently Mr. HUNT handed to SA [redacted] of  
the Dallas office, numerous photostatic copies of letters  
which were to and from various individuals who had had corres-  
pondence in recent years with one [redacted]

Mr. HUNT stated that he obtained the above mentioned photo-  
static copies of letters from various individuals who were  
his friends, on a recent trip East. Mr. HUNT did not reveal  
the identity of these friends, but stated that he had made  
photostatic copies of the letters for the purpose of turning  
them over to the FBI, for whatever evaluation the Bureau might  
see fit.

The above photostatic copies are being enclosed herewith and  
it is not necessary that they be returned. They are forwarded  
to the Bureau for information and whatever action is deemed  
desirable.

VED/mcj

ENCLOSURES - 28  
REGISTERED MAIL.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-10-82 BY SP5 HJS  
954681

62-2038-14

DIRECTOR, FBI

6-8-53

SAC, Dallas (62-2038)

H. L. HUNT;  
FACTS FORUM;  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED BY SP5 JUS  
ON 7-9-02 454681

Remylet 3-13-53 to the Bureau, copies of which are being transmitted with copies of this letter for the New York and Chicago Offices, in view of the frequent travel by HUNT to New York and Chicago in connection with his Facts Forum program. This letter is submitted for your information and that of the SACs addressed because of H. L. HUNT's vast wealth, his personal acquaintance with such persons as General DOUGLAS McARTHUR and [redacted] and his efforts to gain affiliations with his Facts Forum organization by financial and press leaders in New York and Chicago.

The writer's contacts with financial, banking, and business leaders have disclosed that H. L. HUNT is personally thoroughly disliked in this area, and it is common knowledge that he is the only financial leader in the area who will not contribute to charitable and other eleemosynary organizations.

[redacted] telephonically contacted the writer and in a bombastic manner characteristic of him asked, "Do you want to investigate H. L. HUNT?" After appropriate comments from the writer [redacted] "calmed down" and asked that I stop by his office at the earliest convenience. Shortly thereafter [redacted]

[redacted] who is well known to the Bureau [redacted] contacted me and suggested that I let him fix an exact time for a visit to [redacted] as he had been in the latter's office at the time of the call and knew the facts. This was done and the writer subsequently called on [redacted] accompanied by SA [redacted]

[redacted] advised that he has no hesitancy in stating that he personally dislikes Mr. HUNT, but that in addition he has made a point of securing pertinent available information concerning HUNT, because he suspects that HUNT has ulterior motives

JKM:FB  
cc-New York  
Chicago

62-2038-15



in building up Facts Forum into a national radio and TV coverage propaganda organization. He pointed out that it is obvious from even casual listening to the Facts Forum programs that they are biased and not impartial as claimed and that they are, therefore, in his opinion not within the purview of the Federal income tax exemption rules whereby Mr. H. L. HUNT does deduct and not pay income tax on the vast amounts of money he spends on Facts Forum.

[redacted] advised that he had a report some 25 pages in length which he had secured from a prominent tax consultant expert on the matter and that he is contemplating sending that report with his views to the Secretary of the Treasury, with the request that the matter of HUNT's failure to pay income tax on his expenditures on Facts Forum be looked into by the Government.

[redacted] stated that his concern over Mr. HUNT had been growing since HUNT had undertaken efforts to [redacted]

[redacted] stated that HUNT, himself, had visited him and attempted to visit other [redacted] to press his desires, and that he had had HOWARD D. SMOOT, (former Special Agent), who is the Facts Forum principal radio and TV speaker, make similar visits. HUNT on numerous occasions has attempted to have [redacted] come to his home as guests but the invitations were declined until a close friend of [redacted] talked him into going on one occasion. During the course of the visit [redacted]

[redacted] suggested to Mr. HUNT that he contribute to a research foundation attempting to discover relief or a cure for advanced diabetes. Mr. HUNT's reply was that society would be better off if persons who were permanently disabled or physically incapacitated and unable financially to care for themselves were let to die rather than to be a burden on society. This so incensed [redacted] that they left his home.

[redacted] stated that the action by HUNT which had finally driven him to his present wrath was his discovery that through Facts Forum Mr. HUNT had sent a moderately sizeable check to one of [redacted] and had taken similar action toward one of [redacted] with a letter advising that the checks were meant as a gratuitous reward to [redacted] since they reflected emphasis of the policies advocated by Facts Forum. Mr.

b7C

[redacted] expressed the opinion that this was an out-and-out effort by HUNT to "buy" [redacted]

[redacted] and thereby gain further favors in the way of remuneration from HUNT. [redacted] pointed out that [redacted] had refused the checks and returned them, but that he, of course, could not be certain that other [redacted] were being as honest and that some of them might not be accepting such gratuities.

[redacted] then went on to furnish the following information, which he stated is easily subject to proof. He advised that Mr. HUNT, many years ago, was a professional gambler and operated prostitution activities in Arkansas; that he acquired title to oil rights through these activities, and the oil rights, which were located in East Texas, turned out to be in the center of the fabulous East Texas oil discoveries and are the basis for his present wealth. [redacted] further advised that Mr. HUNT presently operates what amounts to a private horse-race and gambling bookie establishment within his office in the Mercantile Bank Building in Dallas and that he has several employees whose sole functions are maintaining extensive records and analyses of performances of horses and handling Mr. HUNT's huge daily bets.

[redacted] further advised that some years ago a [redacted] visited Dallas and made sizeable purchases in the well known Neiman-Marcus Store, charging them to Mr. H. L. HUNT. As is often done when a customer of such repute is making large purchases, Mr. STANLEY MARCUS was notified, and he immediately accosted the customer with the accusation that she was an impersonator, since he, STANLEY MARCUS, was personally acquainted with [redacted]. The incident led to the disclosure of the fact that the customer was actually [redacted]



[redacted] advised that there is no question as to the accuracy of the above information, and that, in addition, Mr. HUNT is known to have been an associate of prostitutes and a philanderer, and that, should the need arise, he can have an investigation made that will result in the development of proof. He stated, however, that these facts are offered merely as a side-light and as aggravating circumstances as to why he feels HUNT is not the type of person who should be permitted to influence the public, as he is patently attempting to do through his Facts Forum organization.

[redacted] was advised that I appreciated his confidence in furnishing this information to me and through me making it available to the Director for his guidance, should he be brought into contact with Mr. HUNT or Facts Forum operations, but that none of the matters came within the purview of the jurisdiction and responsibilities of the FBI and therefore we could not and would not institute any action based upon the facts. [redacted] stated that since he had had time to consider the matter after his impetuous telephone call to me, he fully realized that, but that as a matter of interest he would inform me of any developments.

It might be noted with regard to my letter of reference that the coverage by Facts Forum has greatly increased in the past several weeks and the organization now claims weekly outlets through several hundred radio and TV stations and, from the information which has come to me, it appears that instead of one nationally financed operation, Facts Forum is securing sponsorship by individual companies, each of which finances a 15-minute program with



DL 62-2038  
Letter 6-8-53

its own name used for the spot commercials at one or more stations throughout the country and that the program is prepared at Facts Forum headquarters in Dallas and sent "canned" with the commercial to the particular station.

It might be further noted that since the contacts Mr. HUNT made with me in the early months of this year, at which time he complained against the Council of World Affairs, the Foreign Policy Association, and generally of persons in New York and Chicago who were engaged in anti-Communist programs because they all "seemed to be against him" and at which time I informed him that none of his comments were of such nature as to justify investigation by the FBI, he has discontinued his calls and I have not had personal contact with him since early March, 1953.

Director, FBI

July 23, 1953

SAC, Dallas (62-2038)

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

H. L. HUNT;  
FACTS FORUM;  
INFORMATION CONCERNING.

✓ There is being enclosed herewith an article which appeared in the Dallas Morning News on this date concerning Facts Forum, and setting out details of the agreement of Facts Forum with the Mutual Broadcasting System for a program to begin August 11, 1953 at 8:30 PM CST.

For your information HUNT has been contacting various public relations organizations in New York City and has made the statement to one of his employees that he intends to publicize Facts Forum throughout the country by means of a top flight public relations organization in New York, regardless of the cost.

The above is being furnished for your information.

VED/mcj

ENCL: 1  
AIRMAIL

DECLASSIFIED BY SP5AUS  
ON 44-62 954681

62-2038-16



PLEASE ADDRESS REPLY TO  
COMMANDING OFFICER  
AND DIRECTOR  
AND REFER TO FILE NUMBER

U S NAVY ELECTRONICS LABORATORY  
SAN DIEGO 52 CALIFORNIA

15 December 1953

Special Agent in Charge  
San Diego Office, FBI  
San Diego Trust & Savings Bldg.  
530 Broadway  
San Diego, California

Dear Sir:

b7c The enclosures were turned in to the Commanding Officer and Director by [redacted] the addressee, an employee of this Laboratory. [redacted] stated he was puzzled, both by the content, and by his inclusion on the mailing list.

They are forwarded to you as of possible interest and need not be returned.

Yours very truly,

H. E. BERNSTEIN  
Captain, USN  
Commanding Officer and Director

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-9-08 BY SP5 RJS  
954081

62-2038-17

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 21 1953	
FBI - SAN DIEGO	



[Redacted]

b7C

Dear [Redacted]

You are, no doubt, appalled at the disclosures made by J. Edgar Hoover, Brownell and the investigating committees as to the encroachment in the previous administrations of White and other traitors who no doubt plotted the torture and death of our American boys.

Patriotism to our Country has been taught to us from our earliest school days — but so many seem to have lost sight of the intrinsic duties we owe to our Nation.

Today there exists a non-partisan movement. It is planned to serve our freedom. The work which it is accomplishing and the ideals it represents is noble, and its publication is the FACTS FORUM NEWS. It deserves the cooperation of each and every one of us. The presentation to the individual of arguments for both sides so that he will find out for himself and have confidence in the decision he reaches is unique. Proof that the approach is workable is the hatred of pro-Communists for Facts Forum. Facts Forum is intended to be owned by the public. We can join hands and make it a greater success.

Facts Forum News is one of the finest publications today. I am buying subscriptions for a number of my good friends and in doing so am presenting you with a one year subscription to the FACTS FORUM NEWS . . . and I hope that you will approve of Facts Forum.

I enclose copies carrying one man's idea, and in a separate mailing, a copy of the FACTS FORUM NEWS.

The continuance of a "Subscription Movement" will help carry on this excellent work. Perhaps you will be able to write others about this movement and the FACTS FORUM NEWS.

With every good wish to you and your loved ones for now and all time to come, I remain

Sincerely, [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-9-02 BY SP5 JMS  
9544661

Advisory Board  
B. A. HARVEY, Chairman  
Commercial National Bank Bldg  
Shreveport, Louisiana

Counselors

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD  
W. G. VOLLMER  
JOHN WAYNE  
LLOYD E. SKINNER  
GOVERNOR ALLAN SHIVERS  
DR. FRANCIS P. GAINES  
GENERAL HANFORD MACNIDER  
DR. NORMAN VINCENT PEASE  
GENERAL ALBERT C. WIDEMAYER

# FACTS FORUM

Dispels Apathy

ROBERT H. DEUBMAN, President  
730 Mercantile Securities Bldg  
Dallas, Texas  
WARREN GILBERT, Secretary  
JOE NASH, Treasurer  
920 Mercantile Securities Bldg  
Dallas, Texas

DAN SMOOT, Commentator

Ex - 11 \*

December 11, 1953

DALLAS, TEXAS  
STerling 2291

b7C

Dear [REDACTED]

b7C

A one-year subscription to the Facts Forum News has been entered for you at the request of [REDACTED] Dallas, Texas.

The Facts Forum monthly poll card and other information concerning the various Facts Forum activities will also be mailed to you. On the poll card you will find current and vital questions that should be of interest to every freedom-loving American and you may express your opinion by voting on this card and returning it to us.

We have selected a book for you from our free circulating library, and it is being mailed under separate cover. You will find an explanation of the Facts Forum Book Plan on the inside cover of this book.

Because of your obvious interest in our government and world affairs, we feel sure that you will know others in your area who would be interested in receiving the Facts Forum News. If you will, send us their names for a sample copy of the News.

Please feel that the entire facilities of this office are for your use, and if I may be of personal service, please call.

Sincerely,

b7C

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DATE 4-9-02 BY SP5/HUS  
95-1681

b7C



## "FACTS FORUM"

Radio Program Number 91

DAN SMOOT The Facts Forum radio program is normally devoted to a brief pro and con review of some vital, controversial problem critically important to the prosperity and security of America.

In response to numerous requests, however, I want now to talk about Facts Forum itself.

What is it? What is it trying to do? Why? How?

Facts Forum was incorporated in the State of Texas in June, 1951, as a non-partisan, non-profit public educational venture, dedicated to arousing public interest in important current events.

It was launched originally by a small group of young business and professional men and women and office workers in Dallas, who believe that the one evil which nourishes all others in American life is apathy, indifference toward the affairs of government—a belief that if America is ever destroyed it will be from within—not by tangible, destructive forces but by the cloying apathy of a people who have lost interest and faith in their nation.

Even the precious fabric of liberty can become ragged and dirty when it is neglected—when it is worn by an apathetic, uninformed citizenry too indifferent to cherish and preserve it.

We all know that there is an inborn urge in the human race in the direction of freedom, but we also know that a free society can be maintained only when a majority of its members not only desire but understand freedom. Freedom is not free.

The ill-informed can be truly destructive. They can be guilty of requiring officials to commit themselves to acts which distress and destroy. The unenlightened can require candidates to become demagogues who lose their courage to stand for what they know is right. A public steeped in the selfishness of ignorance can even require its news channels to twist or suppress the truth.

Conscious of these dangers, Facts Forum aims always to encourage people to get the facts which will enable them to know the truth. Those of you who can or will think may not realize the power you possess in this Republic. Those who will not think, instinctively turn to you for guidance. Those who have to make decisions outside the realm of their own information will look to you for help. The greater your store of knowledge and the more current it is kept, the more eagerly your opinions will be sought and respected. As you enlarge the area and improve the quality of your own thinking, you will enlarge your part in formulating public opinion. You will then be rendering a vital service to America.

Facts Forum hopes to stimulate the American people to thought and to action, so that the reins of government will forever remain in the hands of the people.

All of us are periodically aroused at the spectacle of traitors in high places, we are enraged when we learn of the treatment our American prisoners suffered at the hands of the Communists in Korea, and we stir uneasily at the mention of economic problems. But what do we do about it? Our customary reaction to all such problems is to complain, "Why don't they do something about it?"

Facts Forum believes that they are not responsible. Only *We* are responsible for doing something about it. We the people by our indifference, nourish and encourage whatever is bad in American life, and no one except us, the people, as individuals, can do anything whatever in the way of meeting and correcting our problems.

If the Americans who are quite capable of holding firm opinions on important questions would bother to develop and express those opinions—if they could somehow pool freely interchange, and disseminate their information, their ideas, and their hopes—they would produce an informed body of public opinion which would find correct answers to all the critically important issues on which the fate of the entire world depends.

Out of the combined wisdom and aspirations of the American people can come the formula to resolve our problems, and the light to illuminate the darkness.

That is the faith on which Facts Forum is built.

Our purpose is to provide that pooling place for the free exchange of opinions and ideas—to employ easy, convenient and interesting methods to effect this exchange.

Facts Forum, a loosely knit organization is making available, to all Americans, a means of participation in the affairs of government—a means similar to the old New England town hall meetings.

In hundreds of small, informal discussion forums across the country, Americans meet regularly to discuss current events to present and debate sharply opposite political and social philosophies.

Pro and con discussions of vital problems are presented on radio and television and in the people's forums of newspapers which print letters from Facts Forum participants debating questions raised on the Facts Forum radio and television programs and on the Facts Forum Poll.

The Facts Forum Poll is not a cross section sampling of public opinion. The poll is not conducted for the purpose of predicting the outcome of an election or the fate of any piece of legislation.

The purpose of the poll is to focus the attention of large numbers of people in all walks of life and in all parts of the nation, on a carefully selected group of important questions. By thus causing thousands of people to consider the same group of questions at the same time, the poll may be invoking a powerful psychological force for good.

Knowing that opinions should be based

on facts, Facts Forum has a free circulating book plan for distributing informative books dealing with the fundamental problems of our times.

Believing that people must be aroused before their opinions can have much force, Facts Forum offers free public speech courses in cities throughout the nation.

These are a few of Facts Forum's many activities designed to stimulate individual participation in public life.

The development of a new concept can make itself felt only to the extent that the concept is known and understood. Facts Forum reveals something that should be of especial importance to our free society at this time.

The plan of Facts Forum provides an idea and a program by which individuals can learn to distinguish between facts and fancy, between truthful reports and false propaganda. This is of basic importance to us individually and collectively, for in our society decisions must be made by all.

It is vitally important that both adults and young people train themselves not only for the personal enjoyment of life but also for the intelligent participation in government. The survival of our society depends on the intelligence of our citizens in the development of sound policies. Policies which we as citizens help to formulate are policies which we will eagerly defend.

Facts Forum has expanded rapidly into a nationwide organization. Its registered participating membership is less than 90,000, but its regular, actively interested radio and television audience numbers in the millions.

Facts Forum is financed by voluntary contributions. During the initial months of its operations, Facts Forum was financed almost entirely by Mr. H. I. Hunt, Texas oilman and rancher. One of the most active workers in Facts Forum, Mr. Hunt has continued as one of its principal financial supporters, but in June 1951 as it began its third year, Facts Forum had 629 regular financial contributors.

General Robert F. Wood, W. G. Vollermer, John Wayne, Lloyd E. Skinner, Governor Allan Shivers, Dr. Francis P. Gaines, General Hanford MacNider, Dr. Norman Vincent Peale and General Albert C. Wedemeyer are counsellors to B. A. Hardev, Chairman of the National Advisory Board of Facts Forum.

In providing a debating ground for opposing philosophies, Facts Forum has no fear that those philosophies which are fundamentally wrong and un-American will prevail. We believe that an overwhelming majority of Americans want basic American principles preserved. We are certain that if the American people will use their freedom, they will never lose it because they can make correct decisions in the shaping of public policy.

We Americans are the heirs of all the ages. The flood of immigrants which jammed the harbors along our Eastern sea-

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DATE 1-9-77 BY SP-5 JRS/...

board within three decades after the founding of our present form of government brought the arts, the experiences, and the wisdom of all the cultures of the earth

America became more than a mere melting pot. It became the home of a unique set of traditions. On the frontier, the fundamentals of human experience imported from Europe and Asia were fused into a unity which came to be called the American way of life.

The promise of America that the pioneers sought on the plains and in the forests was not material security, but freedom—freedom for every man to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision could combine to make him.

That is the promise of America which our armies have fought to preserve, but the promise of America cannot be kept by mili-

tary power alone. The fight for freedom must be waged continuously in the thinking and acting of every living American to whom America is worth fighting for.

America could never be conquered or destroyed by force of arms unless the strength of her basic institutions of freedom were first corroded away.

For thirty years the worldwide criminal conspiracy of international socialism has been chipping away at the foundations of our system—not in any overt, easily recognizable way, but subtly, by trying to change our institutions, weakening our faith in them.

Such an attack can be met effectively only if enough Americans awaken to what is happening and learn enough about our own system to recognize assaults upon it.

We cannot check the influence of Communism in American life unless we know

enough to recognize the Communist line even when it is expressed in terms of peace, equality, justice, and humanity—because indeed it is nearly always expressed in those terms.

Facts Forum is attempting, not to impart but to encourage Americans to acquire the knowledge they need to preserve freedom.

For two centuries, America has stood as a bright beacon of hope for all men who love liberty.

Will this generation keep the light burning? Will we pass on to our children the heritage that was ours?

We, here in America, hold in our hands the hope of the world, the fate of the coming years. Shame and disgrace will be ours if our light of high resolve is dimmed—if we drag in the dust the golden hopes of mankind.

This is Dan Smooth, with Facts Forum.



FORM LETTER TO FRIENDS:

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

In this world today (and I assume it has always been somewhat this) there are two kinds of moral and political forces at work - the forces for good and the forces for evil. The forces that have prevailed are the ones that have been best organized and actuated. For the past 20 years the world has witnessed small, well organized, and well drilled minorities take over the leadership of world moral and political trends. Unfortunately, these have been evil forces dedicated to false doctrines; principles of religion and of honest and honorable dealings between men and nations are now being scoffed at, and there is great confusion of public opinion in matters of first concern to the people of the country - and therefore, to people everywhere.

Mr. H. L. Hunt of Dallas, Texas, has been doing an excellent work in financing Facts Forum, and he deserves the cooperation of all patriotic citizens. Facts Forum has already accomplished a great deal; and now that Mr. Hunt has blazed the trail, it is up to the citizens, like you and me, to join in this effort and help make it a larger success - to help it reach more people. This we can easily do by subscribing to Facts Forum and reading it and sending it to our friends and employees. I have paid for one year's subscription for you; and when you have become familiar with its merits, you will actively become interested in playing on the Forum team.

This letter is not exactly a "chain letter," but I personally feel that your helping to carry on this fine work will bring you and yours closer to the goal that all honorable men seek.

I am sure that I have said enough to awaken your interest in this patriotic and worth-while enterprise. You're on the team - let's go!

Sincerely yours,

/s/

[Redacted Signature]

b7C

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DATE 4-9-02 BY SP5/MS

954681

SUGGESTED MODEL LETTER TO A CLOSE FRIEND NOTIFYING HIM THAT HE WILL  
RECEIVE THE FACTS FORUM NEWS

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

I have often thought "If a genuine non-partisan movement planned to save our freedom were started I would be happy to support it." Perhaps you have had the same thought.

About a year ago I learned of Facts Forum. I have studied its activities and found it domiciled at 720 Mercantile Securities Building, Dallas, Texas, where it started in 1961, and I believe that it may qualify as a medium through which national sanity can be restored.

Facts Forum has been doing excellent work and deserves the cooperation of all patriotic citizens. Its approach is unique in that it simply tries to get the individual to get the facts for himself so that he will have confidence in the decision he reaches. I would be glad for our employees to become interested. Facts Forum is intended to belong to the public and we can join hands and help make it a greater success. Its publication, the FACTS FORUM NEWS (\$2.00 one year) is one of its important features. I am buying subscriptions for \_\_\_\_\_ of my good friends, and in doing so am presenting you with a one year subscription to the NEWS. I hope that you will become interested in playing on the Facts Forum team.

This is not exactly a chain letter, but the continuance of a "subscription movement" will help carry on this fine work.

If you can see merit to this attempt to stimulate the interest of the people in public affairs, I hope that you will write others about this movement and the FACTS FORUM NEWS.

Sincerely,

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-9-02 BY SP5R/SJ  
954661

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*mu*  
TO : SAC, Dallas  
FROM : SAC, San Diego (100-0)  
SUBJECT: FACTS FORUM

DATE: 12-22-53

Enclosed herewith for the information of the Dallas Office is a copy of a communication received from the U. S. Navy Electronics Laboratory, San Diego, together with five enclosures relative to the Facts Forum.

The above is for your information and the significance of this matter is not known to the San Diego Office.

COL:HB

Enclosures (6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-9-02 BY SP5/ST  
954681

62 2038 -17<sup>u</sup>  
DEC 26 1953  
*Dorman A.*



## FACTS FORUM

### Radio Program

Number 123

#### Anti-Communism

DAN SMOOT Is communism strong enough in America to do serious damage to those who fight communism?

Let's look at both sides, reviewing first the arguments of some who say yes

On November 11, 1919, the American Legion Post of Centralia, Washington, marching in parade, was ambushed and machine gunned by members of an organization which was the forerunner of the Communist Party. Four legionnaires were killed. This incident jolted Americans into a realization that subversive activities within the United States had grown to a clear and present danger.

It also taught the communists a lesson: treachery is a better tactic than fanatic forthrightness. The communists discovered that do-gooders and glibble innocents who like to call themselves liberals could be used more effectively than machine guns to destroy anti-communists.

From that day to this, every effective anti-communist in America has been abused, humiliated, slandered, driven out of public life, or hounded to death—not by the open efforts of the communists, but by the great, respectable, and powerful liberal forces following the Communist Party line.

In 1920, A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General of the United States, with the help of a young attorney in his department, J. Edgar Hoover, was rounding up subversive aliens. Trying to protect the United States, and operating with scrupulous regard for due process of law, Mr. Palmer and Mr. Hoover were widely condemned because they dared to arrest communists.

The attacks on J. Edgar Hoover have never stopped.

The case against Alger Hiss, as a traitor to his country, was beyond doubt in the public mind primarily because of the magnificent work the FBI had done in the case.

Shortly after Hiss was convicted of perjury, a respected publishing house got out a book by Merle Miller, called *The Sure Thing*, a collection of half-truths, outright lies, and nasty innuendoes designed to show Mr. Hoover's FBI up as a kind of silly imitation of the Nazi's Gestapo.

About a year later, in 1950, when the Supreme Court decision again brought the awful meaning of Hiss's communist treason into the public consciousness, another scurrilous and dishonest anti-FBI book was published—again, not by a communist outfit, but by a respected publishing house.

This book, written by that mysterious and powerful friend of Harry Truman, Max Lowenthal, makes the FBI out as vicious, corrupt, and inefficient, and J. Edgar Hoover as an irresponsible witch hunter who keeps people inflamed by talking about a nonexistent communist danger.

Late in 1953, it was J. Edgar Hoover and FBI reports which convinced the public that Harry Dexter White, a Soviet spy, had been protected and promoted in high places.

In March, 1954, one of the nation's most influential and respected journals—*Harper's* magazine—ran a featured article full of distortions and half-truths, designed to belittle Hoover and show that FBI reports are worthless and meaningless.

Examine the record of Martin Dies and every other effective anti-communist, and you will find this same pattern of relentless smear and defamation.

Today, it is fashionable to be anti-communist—but only if you are the right kind, the kind who denounces communism in vague, general terms, but pours all his venom on the genuine anti-communists who are actually hurting communists.

Ponder the case of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

Mrs. Roosevelt, as all the world knows, hates smearing. Whenever one of her friends is identified as a communist, she waxes—bitter, if not eloquent. At any rate, she waxes.

Shortly after Whittaker Chambers identified Alger Hiss as an underground communist, Mrs. Roosevelt wrote:

"Smearing good people like Lauchlin Currie, Alger Hiss, and others is, I think, unforgivable. Anyone knowing either Mr. Currie or Mr. Hiss, who are two people I happen to know fairly well, would not need any denial on their part to know they are not communists."

Nowadays, Mrs. Roosevelt says simply that the Hiss case was a sad one, and, anyway, even if Hiss was a communist spy, he could never have done as much harm to America as the people who exposed him have done. And Mrs. Roosevelt has never ceased calling Whittaker Chambers nasty names.

Whittaker Chambers—a devout and sincere man whose testimony was of inestimable value in informing and alerting the American people about a grave and hidden danger to their nation—has been called everything from a moral degenerate to a psychopathic liar, by the very liberals whose sensibilities are so tender when Joe McCarthy lashes out at one of his "Fifth Amendment Communists."

Communists who leave the conspiracy but keep quiet and protect their former comrades are left alone. But let one of them, trying to atone for his past sins against God and man, expose a hidden communist, and he is viciously attacked, by the liberals.

Perhaps this hatred of ex-communists on the part of some liberals is due to their own intimate flirtations with communism in the past. They were wrong—horribly wrong—on the crucial issue of our times, the threat of communism. They coddled the communist youth, signed petitions, invited communists to the White House. The milk-lined tobacco roads from Park Avenue to Beverly Hills, the penthouse proletariat, the swimming pool peasantry, the learned and mighty of the land, played at revolution and poured their money into the Communist Party and its fronts. But men who made these mistakes, instead of facing up to them, would like to forget them now.

If being a genuine anti-communist is so hazardous, and if everyone calls himself anti-communist, how do you know whom to trust?

*Life* magazine—which certainly understands the technique of a good smear, and which hates Joe McCarthy with a frothy passion—recently made an interesting suggestion. *Life* said that if the Eisenhower Administration would treat communism as a criminal conspiracy,

ouster the party, and relentlessly dig out, expose, and eliminate every communist, then McCarthy's one big issue would be gone, and Joe McCarthy would become unnecessary.

Exactly! If the top leaders in the nation would do what Joe McCarthy has been trying to do, we wouldn't need Joe McCarthy.

That was one side of the question. The negative side comes next.

Here are arguments of some who do not think that communism in America is strong enough to do serious damage to those who fight communism.

It is absurd to imply that communism in America was ever strong enough to do any real harm to anyone, except to the few unfortunates who got into the movement.

Communism thrives in countries where the social and economic conditions of the masses are bad. The Chinese coolie, for example, who earns a few cents a day and lives on the verge of starvation, is susceptible to the wonderful promises of communism. What can he lose by trying it? He can't be any worse off than he is, and might be better off.

A well-paid, satisfied workman, on the other hand, is the poorest prospect in the world for communist propaganda.

Hence, America never was a place where the communists could gain any real strength.

During the great depression, a few desperate men, seeing our own economic system breaking down, did turn to communism as an unexplored hope. A few high-minded but misguided idealists drifted into the Communist Party for the same reason. During the war, when Russia was our partner in a death struggle with the Nazis, there was some pro-Russian feeling in this country.

But at the top of its strength, the Communist Party never numbered more than a few hundred thousand, and since 1950 the party has withered fast.

On October 1, 1951, *Life* magazine said: "If Houdini were a Communist, he couldn't get near a sensitive government payroll today. In short, communism in infiltration of government is no longer a legitimate worry."

After all the hullabaloo about communism in religion and everywhere else in 1953, the House Un-American Activities Committee, in its annual report for 1953, said:

"The official record establishes that, as in other fields, the few members of the clergy who have associated with communist causes is a minute percent age of the hundreds of thousands of loyal, patriotic men of the cloth."

In 1954, J. Edgar Hoover has stated that Communist Party membership in the United States is now below 25,000.

We participated in a bloody police action against communists in Korea, and we are helping the French fight communists in Indo-China today. Since 1948, every American taxpayer has contributed materially and heavily to resist communism and eliminate the causes of communism all over the world.

We all know what communism is, and we all dislike it. And we all will do anything we can against communism. The FBI even knows who all the American communists are, and we have, in fact, already sent most of the top communist leaders to jail.

Yet the great witchhunt goes on  
Why?

Because the paid informers, the professional ex communists, and unscrupulous politicians with no valid issues to talk about must keep it alive to satisfy their lust for money, notoriety, and power

One of the most shameful spectacles of 1953 was that of two distinguished Americans—Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt and Adlai Stevenson—touring Europe and being stopped at every turn by anxious Europeans who wanted to know about McCarthyism in America

When such internationally famous spokesmen for America have to admit to Europe that McCarthy is another Hitler, and when it is apparent to all Europeans that McCarthy has wide support from the American people, is there little wonder that the Europeans are disturbed by what's going on in America?

But the real tragedy of intemperate anti communism is the black silence of fear it is imposing on the American people—the reign of terror, the wave of hysteria, and the widespread suspicion and distrust which is turning Americans against each other, dividing them into little, fearful, antagonistic groups

We did not become totalitarian in a world wide war against fascist tyranny, but we are drifting toward totalitarianism in our domestic war against the shabby remnants of the Communist Party

A great tradition of America is freedom for each sincere soul to express his honest convictions. But this should involve great care not to smear others

unjustly and make false charges. Democracy cannot protect itself if it loses either its soul or its sense

As the crusade against communism spreads, and the quest of demagogues for power becomes ever more unscrupulous, the resulting climate of opinion threatens the vitals of our democracy. We are becoming intolerant and less capable of achieving justice and of surviving

The professional anti communists try to cover their own mistakes and ward off criticism of their own activities by wrapping themselves in the flag and pretending that they are being persecuted by the anti anti communists

The best answer to them can be found in the words of the Rev. Dr. John Alexander Mackay, moderator of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, who was quoted in the press on May 29, 1953, as saying

"Anti communism is just as dangerous as communism, and sometimes even more so"

There, in quick review, are two sides of a Facts Forum question

"Is communism strong enough in America to do serious damage to those who fight communism?"

You may have heard so much on this and related subjects that you are inclined to believe there is no certain answer to that question. This broadcast may, in fact, have added to your confusion. But you can find the facts, that

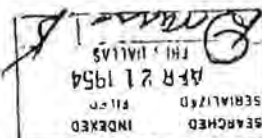
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THE transcripts of many of the Facts Forum broadcasts and telecasts appear in the FACTS FORUM NEWS, and the NEWS carries the results of the Facts Forum poll, the prize award letters in the Letters to Editor Contest, news of neighborhood discussion groups, and other material of interest to those who wish to keep up with public affairs

Subscribe for yourself, 1 yr \$2, 3 yrs \$5, trial subscription 6 mos \$1, or enter subscriptions for friends and associates, as many are now doing. The arrival of the FACTS FORUM NEWS to those for whom you subscribe will be a monthly reminder of your thoughtfulness and consideration. Address Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas

FACTS FORUM  
Dallas Texas



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[Redacted]

April 20, 1954

b7C

Mr. John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am enclosing for your information a copy of Facts Forum Radio Program Number 122, entitled "Anti-Communism." You will note that Dan Smoot, in discussing this subject on the Facts Forum program, gives an account of some of the attacks directed against you and the F. B. I. and strongly endorses the magnificent work the F. B. I. has done in its investigations of Communism.

I thought you would be interested in reading this transcript of the program, which is heard on 243 radio stations throughout the nation.

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95461

Cordially yours,

[Redacted]

Enclosure

b7C

COPY

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62-7038-19

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APR 21 1954	

[Redacted]



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# FACTS FORUM

*Dispels Apathy*

March 18, 1955

ROBERT H. DESMAN, President  
780 Mercantile Securities Bldg.  
Dallas, Texas

WARREN GILBERT, Secretary

JOE NASH, Treasurer  
780 Mercantile Securities Bldg.  
Dallas, Texas

DAN SMOOT, Commentator

MEDFORD EVANS, Coordinator

O. M. SPENCE, Business Manager

DALLAS, TEXAS  
Sterling 2291

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
1114 Commerce St.  
Dallas, Texas

Gentlemen:

Enclosed are reproductions of material which I have just received from the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

My activity in the field of political writing has made necessary my subscription to the Daily Worker and the Worker. On this subscription they got my name wrong, adding an "o" to the end.

The mailing of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee used this incorrect spelling. In the period of approximately a year and a half, during which I have subscribed to the Daily Worker, this is the only communication -- other than copies of the Daily Worker and Worker -- on which my name has carried this misspelling.

I moved late in December from [redacted]

The mailing from the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee consisted of the letter, dated February 28, 1955, and a reprint of Frank Donner's article in The Nation for January 22, 1955.

A wrapper from the Daily Worker and a reproduction of the envelope used by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee are enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosures  
GWD:MG

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[redacted]

62-7038-20

SEARCHED INDEXED  
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MAR 22 1955

[redacted]

1114 Commerce Street - 12th Floor  
Dallas 2, Texas

March 23, 1955

b7C



Dear Sir:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated March 18, 1955, by which you transmitted certain materials you believed of interest to this office.

Please be assured of my appreciation of your interest in transmitting the material in question.

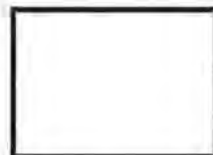
Very truly yours,

W. A. MURPHY  
Special Agent in Charge

*RM*  
MEC:FB  
62-2038  
(2)

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b7C



*62 2038-21*

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~~SECRET~~

AIRMAIL REGISTERED

Date: May 10, 1955.

To: Director, FBI

From: Liaison Representative  
Ottawa, Canada

Subject: FACTS FORUM INCORPORATED  
INTERNAL SECURITY - CZ

4-11-02  
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Enclosure

GHB/EMC

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[REDACTED]

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62-2038-23

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62-94811

~~SECRET~~

Date: June 8, 1955

To: Liaison Representative  
Ottawa, Canada

From: Director, FBI

Subject: FACTS FORUM, INCORPORATED  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C2

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For your information, Facts Forum, Inc., has not been the subject of investigation by the Bureau.

Bufiles reflect an article entitled "Facts Forums Spread - New Program Aims to Start Thinking" which appeared in the "Daily Times Herald," Dallas, Texas, on June 22, 1951, which contained background information relating to this organization reading as follows:

"A movement is under way in Dallas this summer that already has spread to half a dozen other cities and is bidding to cover the entire nation in another year.

"The project is Facts Forum, whose purpose is billed as 'to enlighten and inform the individual and the public.'

"It operates on the basis of many small chapters of some 40 members each who get together and conduct public opinion polls, which then serve as a basis for discussion of a wide variety of current issues on the part of the membership.

62-2038-24

Enclosure - 1

cc - 1 - Dallas (Information) (Enclosure - 1 - cc of incoming and its enclosure)

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[Redacted Box]

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Letter to Liaison Representative  
Ottawa, Canada

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"Facts Forum has enlisted a number of individuals in its founding stage, but the origin of the idea is credited directly to H. L. Hunt, Dallas oil man, who is genuinely disturbed at the frequent indifference on the part of the public at large to national and world affairs.

"Most people are disturbed about various aspects of the national and world situation of today, but all are busy with personal affairs and only a few people take the time to really inform themselves on situations and thus form opinions based on fact," Mr. Hunt explained.

"We of Facts Forum believe that if people know the true facts, hear them discussed pro and con, they will then form logical opinions as to the best course to follow.

"Let's get one thing straight from the start. Facts Forum seeks to find the facts, not impose preconceived ideas on its membership. We must at all times stay strictly clear of partisan politics. We must make certain that the facts are determined on a broad basis, from the bottom up, and not handed out in decisions from the top down," Mr. Hunt emphasized.

"The pilot group, Dallas Forum No. 1, already was busy this week with its first opinion poll. Cards were sent out on several issues last week to a select mailing list and returns were being received this week.

✓ "Robert H. Dedman, young Dallas attorney, is first president of the Dallas Forum No. 1, and is devoting considerable time and interest to Facts Forum as a whole, aiding other groups in organizational work.

"We feel that we have an idea that will take hold and spread rapidly," Mr. Dedman declared. "The response already has been very good. We've had inquiries from individuals and organizations in Dallas who are interested in starting other units, and groups are in process of formation in other parts of Texas and in several other states. Inquiries have come in from all over the nation."

~~SECRET~~



Letter to Liaison Representative  
Ottawa, Canada

~~SECRET~~

"Months of careful planning and preparation on the part of Mr. Hunt and his staff preceded the actual opening the first chapter of Facts Forum. Several booklets outlining the organization and its purposes were written and printed. Headquarters have been established in the Mercantile Securities Bldg.

"From the proposed plan of operation for Facts Forum is the following opening statement:

"1. . . Participants shall direct an orderly study of the art of living and the science of government. They shall discuss and disseminate information on national affairs. They shall increase their fitness for self-government and become more worthy custodians of freedom. Since the knowledge of an individual does not become a part of the democratic process unless expressed, Facts Forum shall cultivate not only an informed but an articulate opinion."

"The founders of the movement are strongly convinced that the democratic process can continue to function properly only through an alert and informed populace, a people interested enough in government to find out what is going on and do something about it," Mr. Dedman declared.

"If Facts Forum is to grow and become an effective force, it must be through the efforts of the individual participants in hundreds of communities throughout the nation," Mr. Hunt said.

"I can help the forum get started, but that's as far as I intend to go. Any effort on the part of anyone to dictate a course of action to the forum chapters would kill the movement in a hurry."

"The basis of the organization's operation will be the opinion poll. Topics for the poll will be selected by the members themselves. Postcards will be mailed throughout the nation, and results will be compiled on local, regional and finally national basis."

~~SECRET~~

Letter to Liaison Representative  
Ottawa, Canada

~~SECRET~~

"The studies which will include governmental science, fuller living and other subjects which materially affect the ability of the earth to support life, such as soil conservation, mineral wealth conservation, water supply and others."

Mr. H. L. Hunt is the owner and operator of the Hunt Oil Company with headquarters in the Mercantile Bank Building, Dallas, Texas, and is reported to be the largest independent oil operator in the world. He is reported to be a multimillionaire. Mr. Hunt is reportedly financing Facts Forum, which is a hobby with him.

There is attached hereto a Photostat of a pamphlet entitled "Facts Forum Plan" dated June 1, 1951, setting forth additional background information concerning this organization.

You should furnish  <sup>(S)</sup> the foregoing information pursuant to its request.

b1

~~SECRET~~

DIRECTOR, FBI

7-5-55

SAC, Dallas (67-1895)

HOWARD D. SMOOT  
Former SA

There is forwarded to the Bureau herewith material disclosing that Former SA HOWARD D. SMOOT has resigned from Facts Forum, effective at the end of July, 1955, and is going into private business as a commentator and publisher of public events comment. *J*

Enc. 2

WAM:FB

cc-62-2038

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62 2038-25

1971 October 26

The PETITION FOR FREEDOM will be sent to some and soon we will deplore the expulsion of Chiang Kai-shek's Free Chinese from the United Nations which was probably started with the intent of destroying our U.S. Republic. HLH

H. L. HUNT

1401 ELM STREET  
DALLAS, TEXAS 75202

October 21, 1971

DISMISS KISSINGER:

Henry A. Kissinger is only an appointee, but you may decide that he dictates the foreign policy of the United States. This policy has never before been so bad as it has been the past 21 years when Kissinger started with Truman.

We often wish there was something we could do. We can find if it will help if we DISMISS KISSINGER.

Constructively,

*H. L. Hunt*

H. L. Hunt

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1971 October 26

# STUDY KISSINGER AND KNOW HIM WELL

Everyone should discover all they can about Henry A. Kissinger, who has never been elected by the people but is considered by some to be the second most powerful man in the nation if not in the world. Patriots and concerned citizens should find out what they can, good, neutral, bad or very bad, to assist friends in evaluating Kissinger. It should be determined if he is indispensable to the nation, simply a non-entity in high places or a dangerous, power-seeking, behind-the-scenes dictator.

Heinz Alfred Kissinger (he changed his name to Henry after gaining asylum in the U.S. as a boy in 1938) is the son of Paula Stern and Louis Kissinger. He was born May 27, 1923, in Fuerth, Germany. His father was a teacher and student adviser at a girl's high school but Paula Stern has been called the real authority in the family. It was she who got the family out of Germany in 1938 to escape Hitler's anti-Jewish programs, according to Louis Kissinger. As a 15-year-old immigrant and a Jew, Kissinger decided he would have to work twice as hard to achieve his goals. He graduated with honors from George Washington High School in New York in 1943, with ambitions to become an accountant. He was drafted into the Army and because of his knowledge of the German language was promoted to sergeant in the counterintelligence field. At 22 he was the Military Government authority running a German community.

Kissinger grasped the opportunity to teach modern German history in an Army intelligence school and in 1946 was made a civilian employee teaching in the school. He was given an Army reserve commission as a captain. Without either a college degree or battle-field experience, a direct commission to captain is considered highly unusual.

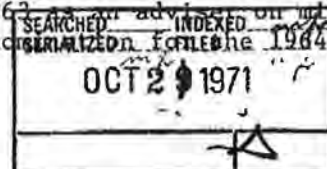
After military service he attended Harvard on the G. I. Bill and received his B.A. in 1950. He had married Ann Fleischer in 1949 and she worked hard to help him through graduate school. Before receiving his master's degree he was appointed Executive Director of the International Seminar of the Harvard Summer School in 1951. He received his master of arts degree from Harvard in 1952 and a Ph.D. in 1954. His wife divorced him in 1964.

It was later revealed that Kissinger's foreign exchange student program which he headed at Harvard was subsidized by CIA funds secretly channeled through certain foundations. Some heavy influence enabled him to obtain such tax-paid aid and to move directly into positions of high influence and power in the Council on Foreign Relations and in both Democratic and Republican administrations.

Kissinger has been a consultant called upon by the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson administrations and now he is President Nixon's chief White House aide in making foreign policy and national defense policies. Kissinger's early and longtime connections with the Council on Foreign Relations and the influence wielded by powerful men in the CFR during his younger days helps explain his access to high government posts no matter which party is in the White House or in control of Congress.

Without practical diplomatic experience or high-level military training, Kissinger began a meteoric career as a consultant on defense and foreign policy as well as psychological warfare and propaganda. By 1957 he had been able to have two books published relating to political power. The same year he began at the top in the academic world with his appointment to the Harvard faculty, starting as a lecturer in 1957, gaining an associate professorship in 1959 and becoming a full professor in 1962. At the same time, along with his CFR activities he served as director of a special studies project for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Nelson Rockefeller took him on in 1963 as an adviser on military and foreign policy while campaigning for the Presidential nomination at the 1964 Republican convention.

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Kissinger is reported to have said, after Rockefeller lost the nomination to Nixon in Miami, that Nixon was not fit to be President. It would be interesting to know if Kissinger, therefore, voted for Hubert Humphrey. At any rate, when Nixon was elected (with 43.6% of the public's favorable vote, while Humphrey got 43.2% and George Wallace 13.2%), Kissinger accepted an invitation to meet with Nixon about an appointive job. Then Kissinger walked away with one of the top spots in the Nixon inner-circle at the White House, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. He quickly earned a reputation as an empire-builder because of his energetic organization of his staff and its output.

Another ploy pulled by Kissinger angered other new Administration officials. He put out an involved questionnaire which tied up staffs for months, trying to find answers, while Kissinger moved ahead consolidating his power. Key members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives openly question Kissinger's obvious grasping for power. They complain about Kissinger making foreign policy and national defense policy without being subject to questioning by Congress, as are the Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense. Cabinet officials, designated by the Constitution to advise the President and to administer the various departments of government, are subject to being quizzed by Congress, but Kissinger is not.

Speculation about Kissinger's motives provide cocktail-party conversation from New York to Hollywood to Washington, D.C. Some gossip labels him as easy prey for Hollywood starlets and sex symbols. He is a favorite subject of the gossip columnists on Broadway and in Hollywood, who like to link his name with Hollywood types when he is seen in public with well-known sex symbols. He has been receiving much attention in recent months in regard to his activities with numerous show business girls.

There is no doubting Kissinger's driving ambition, his seeking for behind-the-scenes power, and his glib persuasiveness with important people, as well as his ability for staying on the job long hours and working brilliantly to achieve his ends. In person he is less than an imposing figure, which probably aids him greatly in working his way into top positions because potential rivals fail to see him as a great threat to their standing. Before they realize his ability, he has taken over.

He seems to have somewhat the same effect on women, who don't expect much and are surprised to find him attentive, interesting and entertaining despite his lack of attractiveness. And there is quite a bit of publicity and public comment about his female friends, for those who are liking such attention from columnists and gossips.

Kissinger's public stand on foreign affairs and national defense matters change from time to time. In one of his early books he maintained that nuclear weapons could be used in tactical operations without their use spreading to strategic targets, such as cities. Later, he wrote that he had been wrong on that. His recognition of the need to act firmly in Cambodia and Laos, while extricating U.S. combat troops from Indochina, brought down the criticism of extremist doves and left-siders upon him. To the extremists, anything less than surrender to the communists is bad. Kissinger has not called for immediate surrender. Neither has he called for victory. He advocates limited, no-win wars, supposedly until the Communists get tired of waiting for us to surrender. In this he ignores the fact that the Russian communists fight us with other countries' armies and that no voice is allowed to speak against war in a communist country.

Parade magazine, with a circulation of 16,713,177, could be of interest and highly informative for those who seek other information about Kissinger, which is to be found in the Oct. 24, 1971, issue published in many newspapers around the nation, including the Dallas Times Herald. The article is titled: "Henry Kissinger: President Nixon's Brainchild."

C. A. Dickey

# THE DALLAS TIMES HERALD

## Editorials and Opinions

18-A\*\*\*\*

Tuesday, Oct. 26, 1971



—By BOB TAYLOR, Times Herald Staff Cartoonist



## HENRY A. KISSINGER

Born May 27, 1923, in Fuerth, Germany, Henry A. Kissinger is the son of Louis Kissinger and Paula Stern. He became a naturalized citizen in 1943. He was married to Ann Fleischer but was divorced. After military service in the Intelligence field he attended Harvard, receiving a bachelor of arts degree in 1950. On the basis of that and whatever other obscure reasons known to those who appointed him, Kissinger became Executive Director of the International Seminar of the Harvard Summer School in 1951. He received from Harvard a master of arts degree in 1952 and a Ph.D. in 1954.

Since graduating from Harvard, Kissinger has moved directly into positions of high power and influence in both Democratic and Republican administrations and in the Council on Foreign Relations. He has been a consultant for the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson administrations and now he is President Nixon's chief White House aide in making foreign policy. Kissinger's early and longtime connections with the Council on Foreign Relations and the influence of powerful men in the CFR probably accounts for his access to high government posts no matter which party is in the White House.

Without practical diplomatic experience he began his career as a consultant on defense and foreign policy, in addition to propaganda and psychological warfare. As an advocate of limited, no-win wars he has had vast influence in both Democratic and Republican Administrations. He proposes that the U.S. should fight limited wars until the communists get tired of waiting for our people to surrender. He ignores the fact that the Russian communist dictatorship can fight these wars with other peoples' armies and that no voice is allowed to speak against war in a communist country.

Kissinger acquired considerable influence with some powerful people often considered as "conservatives," but not constructives, because of his glib recitations and writings. Many dove "intellectuals" consider him to be Richard Nixon's best appointment. Senator Jacob Javits, the far-left New York Republican, has said that Kissinger's appointment could be Nixon's most significant one.

Kissinger quickly earned a reputation as an empire-builder for his office after his appointment by Nixon because of his energetic organization of his staff and its output. Some members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives have openly questioned Kissinger's apparent grasping for power. They discount his denials and express their fear that his influence and activity will take away from Congressional prerogatives in foreign and military affairs by undercutting the regular cabinet members who are supposed to handle foreign and military activities.

Before his father migrated to the U.S. in 1938, Kissinger had used the first name, Heinz, but he shifted it to Henry while adapting to life in the U.S. Kissinger's father had been a high school teacher in Germany. The young Kissinger did well in high school in Manhattan. He went on active duty in the Army in 1943 where he grasped the opportunity to teach modern German history in an Army intelligence school in Germany as a sergeant. In 1946 he was made a civilian employee teaching in the school and given an Army reserve commission as a captain. Without either a college degree or battlefield experience, a direct commission to captain is considered highly unusual. Kissinger managed to get a government scholarship to Harvard and his influential career in government was soon launched. His foreign student exchange program at Harvard, it was later revealed, was subsidized by CIA funds secretly channeled through certain foundations.

In addition to his Council on Foreign Relations connections, Kissinger was director of a special studies project for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. This was from 1956 until 1958. Nelson Rockefeller took him on in 1963 as an adviser on military and foreign policy while campaigning for the Presidential nomination. In 1965 Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge assigned Kissinger to make a study of Vietnam. Kissinger's secret flight to Peking, while supposedly on a round-the-world tour to friendly governments, is his latest action. Time will tell how his arrangement for the invitation from the Red Chinese government for President Nixon to visit Peking next spring will work out.

# Revolution

By George E. Sokolsky

TROTSKY was organizing the workers and soldiers to take over the provisional government in Petrograd. Two centers of activity occupied him. One was the Petrograd Garrison, which was to mutiny against the authority of Kerensky. The other was the seizure of industrial plants by the workers. One of the principal industrial institutions in Russia was the Putiloff munitions factory, a steel works. Here shop committees were organized and the workers instructed to take over management. Step by step, in fact, the workers reduced the authority of management in all industrial enterprises, not only in Petrograd but in every city in Russia.

Long before the Communist revolution transferred political power from Kerensky to Lenin the workers had destroyed all rights in private property in industrial and commercial enterprises. The labor unions were in possession, and they were taking orders from the Soviet of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers' Deputies at the Smolny Institute. Private property disappeared because the rights of human beings disappeared.

What was Kerensky doing during all this period? He was speaking of what he would do. He was seeking compromises. He was angling for a coalition of Socialist groups. He was secretly negotiating with conservatives and reactionaries. He was dreaming of great Napoleonic victories. He was creating of democracy. He was steeping himself in international intrigue. He was, in fact, doing nothing at all.

He had created all the agencies for his own destruction, but they were now at work. He had sought to be popular at the expense of discipline and morals. He had created a million millions that he had lost to their chiefs. He had abolished national discipline. He had played ducks and drakes with the law. But he dared not fight with the forces of destruction. They marched forward unimpeded.

I attended meetings of the Constituent Assembly after Kerensky had disappeared. Even the representatives of the Russian people were not there. The Bolsheviks were a tiny minority. Did they stand out at all? Lenin was in command to his secretary in the balcony and smiled—it was a gesture to show how little his power was in the struggle for Russian freedom.

Then he came no more. No Bolshevik appeared. The representatives of the Russian people—their Congress—they sat and waited.

One moment we heard a rumor that Lenin's dinner was prolonged. At another moment we heard that he was in the building—the Duma Building, I think it was.

Men stood in groups and spoke to one another. Not a person smiled. Then there were prolonged silences.

Finally the president of the Constituent Assembly arose to speak his mind on behalf of the representatives of the Russian people. The assembly hall filled with troops. One approached the dais. "Comrade, you have spoken enough," the soldier said. "Go home!"

The representatives of the Russian people were filled with consternation. Strong men wept. I remember my own emotions—my anguish in the presence of faithfulness. Chermoff tried to be heroic. The soldier stopped him. Workers were already marching in the streets.

The representatives of the Russian people dispersed. A minority had conquered Russia by organized minority pressure. They had seized the means of production and distribution. First they destroyed private property. Then they destroyed human rights. It was the end of Russia's chances for democracy.

What were intelligent, educated people doing? What were business men and bankers doing? At that moment each man was looking after himself. Some were seeking to get in, under the tape. They would assist the Bolsheviks, maybe the Bolsheviks would let them live. Some were attempting to save a few effects. Some were even planning to corrupt the Bolsheviks as they had corrupted the Czarist regime and the Kerensky regime. Others were trying to become Bolsheviks after another.

Some were speculating in the Czarist's misfortunes. They were gambling on money exchange; gambling with bonds and stocks, gambling on to raw materials or higher prices. Everywhere prices were rising and the value of money was constantly decreasing.

Not a constructive work came from these people; no constructive work. Even the Bolsheviks refused to print the newspapers for them, because the newspapers and writers were considered as unclean. They would be damned. The Bolsheviks and the Czarist order. And they destroyed the press of the world refused to print the newspapers.

Once I saw a religious group march through the streets with flags and other holy images, and they were singing hymns for "Resurrection." But they were so few. The Czarist was in command to be military officers, they attempted to make a stand. But the

great mass of Russia's intelligentsia, of Russia's economic and social middle class, were incapable of defense. Every night the cafes chantants were filled with the bourgeoisie. They were still eating caviare and drinking champagne. The artists sang humorous songs about Lenin and Trotsky, and the business men applauded with merriment. They would make money, they felt, no matter what kind of politician was in power.

In the end they had nothing. Their property, their human rights, even their lives were taken from them. I met many of their wives and daughters later in Harbin and Peking and Shanghai where they were forced to earn their livings by the only means left to them.

The Bolsheviks could not ultimately succeed, they had believed. They had many explanations for their views. "The deeply mystical character of the Russian people." "The peasants will never permit their farms to be taken from them." "Starvation will drive the workers to their senses."

What is the use? All these explanations were just waves of wind. The organized minority had focused its will on the seizure of property and government. The majority was engaged in every occupation but the defense of the rights of property and rights of man. The majority smashed the majority because only the minority knew what it wanted. The majority was destroyed because it could not believe that it had to organize and fight to live.

Yes, they woke up later. But it was too late. Their chance lay in government by law when Kerensky was in power. Their chance they missed. Their mistake, advantage was to resist every suggestion of compromise while they still possessed power, but they lost themselves in practical disputes concerning humane considerations until humanity itself was crushed. Compromise destroyed their only weapon for resistance, the army.

Some business men and bankers and engineers and lawyers escaped to foreign countries. Many more were sent to prison camps. Even more were killed. Their smartness had outwitted them.

I saw all this. From July, in 1917, when Kerensky was in power, to March, in 1918, I saw this. I saw the Bolsheviks who knew human misery only from books believe that it is possible to compromise upon essential principles of human rights. I have witnessed too many Bolsheviks mixed in the melting pot of compromise; I have seen too many Bolsheviks' boxes opened by the outstretched fingers of compromise.

There are no two sides to some questions. You cannot see a thief stealing your silver and cogitate upon the other side of the question. You dare not think of a kidnaper and say, "Perhaps kidnapping is, after all, not altogether wrong." Yet men will view crimes equally severe and say, "Well, maybe there is another side to this question." Do you remember Miss Perkins' remarks on the possible legality of the sit-down? It is such stuff that blows up civilizations, even as the mad gas in Texas blew up a schoolhouse.

As I write of those days in Russia I think of all the seizures of property in this country. And of the compromises that are being made. The sit-downers in Chrysler write Governor Murphy that they elected him and he must serve their will. How often was it thrown up to Kerensky that he had been raised to power by soldiers and workers, and he must obey them! When the oath of office—when an oath sworn on a Bible can become a subject for individual interpretation—when public officials can ask themselves, "Must I serve the entire nation, or the pressure group that put me in power?"—then the nation is bound to fall.

Revolutions are successful when an organized minority discovers that the majority is split, is confused, is without vigilance. Then it is revolutionary tactics to confound and confuse the majority by side issues, by speeches on humane subjects, by beating the drum of progress and liberalism.

Almost like vaudevillians repeating the jokes of a decade and a century ago, the revolutionists and the compromisers repeat the slogans and the adages of all the centuries and of all countries. They play upon distress, they create emergencies, they ridicule fundamentals. And all sorts of people are taken in by these tricks and they bow to the golden calf of humane proposals. Only too late do they learn that this emphatic humanity is only a veneer, only a sham in the rise to power.

The minority stand upon the shoulders of those whom they fool only as long as they need protection. When they want to come to earth, they destroy the props that supported them. Do you know that there were even Jews in Germany who in Hitler's early days were just such props. Where are they now?

The American people do not yet realize that they are in the first stage of a revolution. Yet all experience with revolution shows that the seizure of private property by lawless bands before whom government stands impotent is the first major battle in the destruction of any government.

HENRY KISSINGER—THE MAN

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1971

Mr RARICK Mr Speaker so that my colleagues might know the thought and training of the one man who controls the policies of this Government—the one man who not only advises the President which course to follow, but also tells him what the alternatives are—and his utter disdain for the role of Congress in determining foreign policy, I insert the following article from the Washington Post of July 11, 1971, and a documented article from the Herald of Freedom for January 24, 1969, in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, July 11, 1971]

HENRY KISSINGER NIXON'S METTERNICH

(By David Landau)

(The writer is managing editor of the Harvard Crimson in which the following appeared as part of a series of three articles on the career of Henry A. Kissinger.)

"He was a rococo figure, complete, finely carved, all surface, like an intricately cut prism. His face was delicate but without depth, his conversation brilliant but without ultimate seriousness. Equally at home in the salon and in the Cabinet he was the beau-ideal of [an] aristocracy which justified itself not by its truth but by its existence. And if he never came to terms with the new age it was not because he failed to understand its seriousness but because he disdained it."

With these words, a Harvard thesis-writer named Henry Kissinger introduced Clemens Metternich, Austria's greatest foreign minister. Metternich was a man whom Kissinger emulated, whose diplomatic life he has sought to relive. And the comparison of the two is far from inapt.

As Richard Nixon's most influential adviser on foreign policy, Kissinger has embodied the role of the 19th-century balance-of-power diplomat. He is cunning, elusive and all-powerful in the sprawling sector of government which seeks to advise the President on national security matters. As Mr. Nixon's personal emissary to foreign dignitaries, to academia and—as "a High White House official"—to the press, he is vague and unpredictable. Yet he is the single authoritative carrier of national policy besides the President himself.

Like the Austrian minister who became his greatest political hero, Kissinger has used his position in government as a protective cloak to conceal his larger ambitions and purposes. Far from being the detached, objective arbiter of presidential decision-making, he has become a crucial mold and supporter of Mr. Nixon's foreign policy. Instead of merely holding the bureaucracy at comfortable arm's length, he has entangled it in a web of useless projects and studies, cleverly shifting an important locus of advisory power from the Cabinet departments to his own office. And as confidential adviser to the President, he never speaks for the



record cannot be made to testify before Congress and is identified with presidential policy only on a semi-public level.

#### A CONSTITUENCY OF ONE

Like the ministers who ruled post-Napoleonic Europe from the conference table at Vienna—and the Eastern Establishment figures who preceded him as policy-maker of a later age—Kissinger believes that legislative bodies, bureaucracies and run-of-the-mill citizenries all lack the training and temperament that are needed in the diplomatic field. He is only slightly less moved by the academics who parade down to Washington to peddle their ideas. And when one sets aside popular opinion, Congress, the bureaucracy and the academic community, there remains the President alone. The inescapable conclusion is that Henry Kissinger's only meaningful constituency is a constituency of one.

It might have seemed surprising that, only a month after his election, Mr. Nixon would have chosen one of his most vocal antagonists—the foreign policy adviser of his chief rival, Nelson Rockefeller—as a leading policy aide. But the two men had much more in common than anyone would have supposed.

To begin with, Mr. Nixon turned out not to be the partisan, suspect observer of the international scene whom Kissinger had so feared. Quite the contrary—Mr. Nixon was determined to take hold of the foreign policy machine and fashion his own commitment to world order, regardless of public and congressional opinion. In the past, decisions had been made in a chaotic, *ad hoc* atmosphere which lacked consistency and framework; the new President decided that such practice should cease.

For somewhat different reasons, Kissinger agreed that policy planning should be centered in the White House. For Kissinger, the balance-of-power diplomat, had long believed that world equilibrium was based on the constant threat of force, and that respect for the United States rested on the fear of its enormous military machine. At times, secret talks and well-placed overtures could avert military engagements that were not in the interest of the United States. At others, where an escalation to armed conflict seemed necessary, the decisions must be made and the orders carried out by a few top men who acted with the greatest of speed.

Such a policy of threat demanded a high degree of centralization—and the resulting Nixon-Kissinger policy structure was designed to circumvent those forces in government, such as Congress and the Cabinet bureaucrats, which were considered extraneous to that approach.

#### GUARDING CREDIBILITY

In addition, Kissinger realized that the policy of threat would be a failure if Mr. Nixon could not appear unfettered by others—inside Washington and out—who had claims on the President's conduct of foreign affairs. In as early a tract as "A World Restored," his 1954 Ph.D. thesis on Metetrach and the restructuring of post-Napoleonic Europe, Kissinger had written that "the impetus of domestic policy is a direct social experience, but that of foreign policy is not actual, but potential experience—the threat of war—which statecraft attempts to avoid being made explicit." In other words, popular opinion was little more than an encumbrance on those few who were capable of making decisions. For if the foreign diplomat were allowed to feel that the President's policy could be swayed by committee upheavals, then the credibility of threat—the linchpin of the policy—would ultimately collapse.

Corollary to the policy of threat was the notion that the United States would keep its promise, and fulfill its commitments no matter what the price. For the ultimate failure of diplomacy was to lose credibility, and

there was a feeling for the honor of a great power that went very deep in Kissinger. There was the idea that a faulted credibility in one area of the world would surely lead to disaster in another, because for Kissinger all the great troublespots of the world were lined up on a single continuum that connected the two superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States. Should the Russians violate the ceasefire lines in the Mideast, then the President must be free to respond in Cambodia. And if the policy made no sense in cost-benefit analysis, at least it would proceed from strategic thinking which transcended the day-to-day pressures of political life.

#### WHITE HOUSE PREDOMINANCE

Kissinger felt that the presidency was the only office of government which could determine and execute foreign policy in the way it should properly be conducted. Congress was an impediment, its members, by and large, were not properly schooled in the hard-fought, intricate practice of diplomatic affairs and were more likely to respond to the uninformed concerns of their voters, to the shoddy tug-and-pull of the popular political process, than to the arduous twists and turns of great-power relationships. The bureaucracy, too, was an enemy, no imagination, no flair, no speed or adaptability, little grasp of the sacrifices and risks one must incur if the one were to maintain a flexible policy.

Kissinger, the balance-of-power diplomat, had long believed that world equilibrium was based on the constant threat of force, and that respect for the United States rested on the fear of its enormous military machine.

And as for popular opinion, Kissinger's interest lay not in how the votes would be cast today, but in how the executive structure would be affected by domestic reactions to the policy when that policy had finally run its course five or ten years later. His overwhelming concern was how well the White House could continue to function as the major force in foreign policy, whether popular opinion would one day rise up and destroy the presidency as an instrument of diplomatic relations. And when Kissinger finally agreed to go to work for the man he had scorned as a presidential candidate, it was only on the condition that the policymaking structure be geared to White House predominance.

In a series of meetings at the end of November, 1968, Mr. Nixon invited Kissinger to accept the post of foreign policy assistant and proposed a revival of the National Security Council. Set up under Truman after World War II to coordinate policy planning, the NSC system had long since fallen into obscurity, but Mr. Nixon viewed it as an instrument of restoring to the White House a critical measure of flexibility and control over policy decisions. More than anything else, he dreaded being handed a single policy recommendation which, more often than not, might be a compromise policy, an effort on the part of several differing agencies which had subdued their disagreements and presented the White House with a post-hoc it could then only accept or reject.

Underlying the revived NSC structure was the so-called "options" system, the recommendations of each agency would be solicited by the White House and then screened for the NSC and the President by Kissinger and his staff.

As the options' man, Kissinger would be expected to give a fair, objective account of each alternative, as confidential adviser to the President, his strength would rest more on his personal relationship with Mr. Nixon than on his policymaking abilities—a relationship that would have been very difficult to predict. "I suppose what really is clear was that Henry Kissinger did not intend to become a man of public influence," Thomas Schelling, Kissinger's closest colleague on the Harvard faculty, said recently,

"I think he honestly thought that there was a more detached role for himself." So Kissinger had gone to Washington to whittle down the options and strengthen Mr. Nixon's hand, his own influence could be determined only by the chemistry of his relationship with the President.

#### A TOWERING FIGURE

But for astute observers, the news of Kissinger's supremacy in foreign policy was not long in coming. In December, 1968, he flew to Key Biscayne to present Mr. Nixon with a set of blueprints for the revived NSC system—and William P. Rogers, the new Secretary of State, was already out in the cold. No longer would it be as necessary for the Secretary to meet with the President on an informal basis, as Acheson and Dulles and Rusk before him had done, like all other Cabinet members who dealt in foreign policy, his ideas would no longer be brought directly to Mr. Nixon, but would have to pass first through a system which Kissinger administered. And when Rogers met with the President and his national security adviser, he was completely overshadowed, so outclassed by Kissinger that he would rarely see Mr. Nixon in Kissinger's presence any more. "He avoids his confrontations with Henry because he knows he'll make a fool out of him," one State Department official said recently.

Kissinger was a towering figure amid the rest of the Nixon appointees. None could compare to him in terms of sheer mental preparation for the job. And it is probable that Kissinger came into his job better prepared than either of his predecessors under Kennedy and Johnson, not to mention those whom Mr. Nixon had just appointed to other, less rigorous posts, the men who had won their jobs as political favors, not by sheer intellectual breadth.

Most of the others in Mr. Nixon's retinue were men of politics, men who could be restrained by adverse domestic feeling or be deterred from a policy that seemed to make no material sense. But Mr. Nixon—a President determined to behave in a presidential way—and Kissinger, the great-power diplomat, would brook no compromise. And Mr. Nixon's personal relationship with Kissinger, unfettered as it was by ulterior political motives, became deep and profound. Kissinger is the President's only post-1960 acquaintance to have become a member of his personal inner circle. He sees Mr. Nixon more frequently than do any of his other appointees. And as Mr. Nixon's confidante, Kissinger passes the crucial judgments on the very options that he and his staff have laid out.

#### BUREAUCRATIC COUP

But Kissinger's coup of the Cabinet departments was not as simple as that. It involved a devious circumvention of the bureaucracy through the skillful use of study memoranda and detailed, lengthy questionnaires. According to several men who were close associates of Kissinger at the time, Kissinger came to power determined not to rely on normal channels for information concerning each of the policy undertakings. And so he proceeded to encase the Cabinet departments in a series of useless policy studies which left them very much on the short end of decision-making.

Kissinger's first act as Mr. Nixon's adviser was to commission an options memorandum on the progress of the war in Vietnam, he began work on the study as early as December, 1968. In the months preceding the study, the military state of affairs in Indochina had been the subject of a raging controversy inside the various departments. The outgoing presidential advisers and the upper crust of Washington's foreign service were claiming that the National Liberation Front had grown significantly weaker since the Tet offensive the previous February, that the Communist military campaign would fold in a matter of months. But the lower echelon—

1967, to "spur trade with Reds." The article stated "An alliance of family banking fortunes linking Wall Street and the Midwest is going to try to build economic bridges between the Free World and Communist Europe. The joint effort contemplated by I.B.E. and Tower is seen as combining the investment skills and resources of the Rockefellers and the special entre to Soviet bloc officialdom that Tower enjoys largely as a result of contacts cultivated over the last 15 years by Cyrus S. Eaton, Sr. The elder Eaton has been an out-spoken advocate of closer ties between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. He has backed his convictions by visiting Russia and entertaining high Soviet leaders including former Premier Khrushchev." Kissinger's "foreign policy" advice must have made Rockefeller feel that investments in Communist countries would not be too risky.

Men of science are not going to have complete control of the new "World of Disarmament," as there are other important people in the world—bankers, industrialists, diplomats. These people meet and plan in secret and are called the Bilderbergers. Henry Kissinger has attended at least one of their meetings. His name was on the list of participants at the Williamsburg, Va. Conference, which took place March 20, 21 and 22, 1964. The idea of the Bilderberg meetings originated in the early 1950s. The first meeting that brought American and European "leading citizens" together took place under the chairmanship of Prince Bernhard at the Bilderberg Hotel in Oosterbeek, Holland, from May 29 to May 31, 1954. Although the Bilderbergers claim that they are not a "policy-making body" and that "no conclusions are reached," they surely do not bring important people from practically the four corners of the earth for nothing.

Another group of "unofficial" policymakers is the Council on Foreign Relations, with which Kissinger has long been affiliated. The CFR is believed by many to be the secret government of the United States. After a thorough investigation this organization was declared subversive by the American Legion of California in 1962.

Among the present or past members of the Council on Foreign Relations we find the following:

Alger Hiss, Ralph Bunche, Leuchlin Currie, Harry Dexter White, Herbert Matthews, Joseph Barnes, Cyrus Eaton, J. Robert Oppenheimer, John K. Fairbank and Arthur Goldberg, all of whom have had a record of close affiliation with Communists and some of whom were actually identified as Communists.

During the first week of December 1968 the International Association for Cultural Freedom conducted a five-day closed seminar at Princeton, N.J. Ninety individuals attended, among them Henry Kissinger who told those assembled "The doors to the White House will always be open to your ideas." Present to hear this kind invitation were Charles Hamilton, co-author with Stokely Carmichael of the book, "Black Power," Andreas Papandreu left-wing leader of the Panhellenic Liberation Movement exiled from Greece due to his pro-Communist activities, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., McGeorge Bundy and George Ball, among others. Some of the participants were from Communist countries at this seminar financed by the Ford Foundation.

Henry Kissinger has been a friend and associate of John Kenneth Galbraith (who called the appointment of his friend "a good one"), Adam Yarmolinsky (expected to step into Kissinger's job at Harvard, who said "I will sleep better with Henry Kissinger in Washington"), Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. ("I think it is an excellent appointment") and Robert R. Bowie with whom he worked at the Harvard Center for International Affairs.

Kissinger has been described by a colleague as "impatiently arrogant" and his confidence in his own ability is evident from a comment reportedly made when Rockefeller sent one of his "position papers" to other advisers for comment: "Do you ask a housepainter to touch up a Picasso?" In his new position Dr. Kissinger intends to make some long-range plans for the United States as well as to completely reorganize and restructure the entire White House security planning machinery. This is a very important job to entrust to a man as acceptable to the Democratic left-wing Kennedy Administration as he seemingly is to the Republican moderate Nixon Administration. To what ends will he use the "brilliance" he wishes to conceal from the American people?

LET REDS OPROSE EACH OTHER

Most anything would seem to be better than endless meetings with communists in Paris, which everyone has found is getting us nowhere. There has always seemed to be a possible advantage to our country in having communists disagree with each other, so it has been difficult for some government officials who have discussed the subject to see why Red China and Red Russia have not been encouraged to do battle in their advancement of communism and who would lead it. Other diplomats have said they want to keep down any open breaks between the Chinese and Russians because trouble between Red China and Soviet Russia could bring on World War III.

President Nixon's proposed trip to Peking could be a matter of him carrying out a deal Henry A. Kissinger already has made. No communist government has ever proved itself to be very trustworthy about carrying out any agreements, but there could be advantages to the U.S. if this is clearly recognized and the opportunity used to disturb the communists' efforts to dominate the world.

Constructive statesmen and seasoned patriots could feel better about the events about to unfold if President Nixon were receiving close counsel from eminent men such as the generals trained by MacArthur. A great nation cannot continue long abandoning its allies in favor of its enemies. Whatever else comes of the Kissinger plan for China, it already is robbing the non-communist Nationalist Chinese government on Formosa of essential prestige. Chiang Kai-shek has remained a staunch ally and has been setting a top example for developing nations to avoid communism. Upsetting the communist timetable may save millions of lives. Throwing over allies can cause every friend to desert us. Surely no one imagines the communists will love us then. HLH

END

259 words

Beginning with President Truman, Kissinger has dictated U. S. Foreign policy for each President whether he was a Democrat or Republican.

THE QUESTION OF KISSINGER

The announcement that Henry A. Kissinger had visited Peking and arranged for an invitation to President Nixon to visit the Red China capital has apparently stunned many observers around the world. The Kissinger record needs to be better understood and closely evaluated.

Kissinger has been handled with kid gloves by the national TV newsmen, despite his rather obscure qualifications for such a powerful position in a Republican administration. A few hawkish policies have failed to estrange him from the left-leaning opinion-molders. His background with the Council on Foreign Relations makes him acceptable to "liberal" pundits, despite an occasional statement to the effect that Russia is hostile to the U.S.

Shortly after finishing Harvard, where he got a Ph. D. in 1954, Kissinger was director for nuclear weapons and foreign policy in 1955 and 1956 for the Council on Foreign Relations. From 1956 until 1958 he was director of a special studies project for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. He was an adviser to Nelson Rockefeller on military and foreign policy in 1963 during Rockefeller's unsuccessful drive for the Presidency.

Despite lack of practical experience he has served as a consultant for the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Nixon administrations. He has become involved in the highest levels of policy making with the State Department, the Defense Department, the CIA, the National Security Council and the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The public has a right to know much more about such a powerful and influential figure who did not become a naturalized citizen until 1943. HLH

END

258 words



# Chou Talks of Revolution, Progress

By JAMES RESTON

PEKING — Chou En-lai, the premier of China, is an austere man with thick John L. Lewis eyebrows, cool and inquisitive dark brown eyes and white, expressive hands.

He greets his visitors in the vast Fuxien Room of the Great Hall of the Peoples on Tien-an-Men Square, across from the main gate to the forbidden city. In the formal part of our conversation, which took place Aug. 5, when he was discussing China's relations with the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan and Taiwan, he talked very slowly, as if he were tired and maybe a little suspicious, but when we moved to dinner in another part of the room shortly after 10 p.m., he brightened up and talked on a wide range of subjects.

I first asked the premier whether he was an optimist or a pessimist, and he replied with a smile that he was an optimist because he was a Communist. He then talked about the United States and showed some interest in our race problem and in the American Chinese experts who had been so severely criticized during the era of Sen. Joseph McCarthy for their views on Chinese politics.

Chou En-lai said a friend of his just back from the United States had told him American blacks were making progress and he seemed pleased about this. He asked whether many of them worked in the government, and when he was told yes, that 64 per cent of the population of the District of Columbia was Negro, and many worked in the government, he observed that this was a good thing because you get used to them.

HE SAID HE HAD no old friend in the United States except Edgar Snow, but he inquired about John S. Service and John Carter Vincent, formerly of the State Department, and Orientalist Prof. John K. Fairbank of Harvard University, and Owen Lattimore, formerly of Johns Hopkins.

When I said many of these men had been cruelly criticized and that it would be a justice and a kindness if they were able to come back and see the country they had devoted their lives to studying, he replied that this was a good idea. "Take good wishes to them," he said. "If they want to visit China, we will welcome them."

The premier expressed some admiration for Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell, U.S. commander in China in World War II, mainly because the latter had quarrelled with Chiang Kai-shek, but he was rather grudging in his thin praise for Gen. George C. Marshall, although he expressed a preference for him over Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer and Patrick J. Hurley, who also served the United



Chou En-lai... he calls himself an optimist.

States here during the postwar period.

At one point his mind jumped from Marshall to the Marshall Plan for reconstruction of Europe after World War II and he was particularly interested in what the plan had cost the United States and whether we got any of the money back.

THE PREMIER said the United States apparently had not learned in Vietnam the lessons of its failures in China. It was now trying a Vietnamization program of arming and supporting reactionary forces that did not have the backing of the people. But that, he observed, was precisely what we had tried in China—America had "a Chinaization" program of supporting Chiang Kai-shek, who had 5 million men and plenty of U.S. arms.

That was where the Communists got their arms, he said, by destroying Chiang's millions and taking their U.S. weapons. There was a very interesting photograph, he recalled, which showed Mao Tse-tung entering Peking in an American jeep and reviewing whole rows of American guns and tanks.

The premier had taken time to read what I had written from China before the meeting, and he brought up, without offense, an observation I had made that China was an old civilization which seemed vigorous and young but was run by "old men."

THE REASON FOR this, he said, was that China's revolution had gone on

for 22 years and actually for 28 years before that from the founding of the Communist party. Accordingly, the Chinese leaders grew old in the struggle and didn't come to power until they were in their 50s.

The American revolution was quite different, he observed; it lasted only a few years, and the early American presidents were young. "Jefferson was a young man when he was president. You Americans were only three million at the time of your revolution, yet were able to resist a colonial power of 30 million, so you depended on guerrilla warfare. It was you who started guerrilla warfare — George Washington started it," he remarked.

But China was thinking about the problem of succession and younger men, he said. China operated on the three-in-one combination, he said, explaining that all instruments of the government were now run by a combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young. President Nixon would see, when he came here, Chou En-lai said, that young and middle aged will join in the talks.

While the premier talked, an elaborate dinner was served.

IT WOULD BE misleading to say the meal was served in courses; it was a never-ending stream. First hors d'oeuvres of prawns, green beans, cold duck and chicken, and delicious morsels of fish. Then the first of three soup courses, this one oyster broth with tiny oysters the size of a quarter, and floating slices of cucumber, followed by a dish of shrimp balls, quails eggs, cabbage and sea slugs. There were small glasses of sweet red wine and an explosive kind of schnapps called Mao Tai, which Chou En-lai used to propose a toast, without swallowing a drop.

And about at this point he began talking about the Chinese revolution and Stalin.

I observed that parents owed their children a record of the years before a child has its own memory and asked whether the leaders of the Chinese revolution felt the same obligation. Had they kept personal records in the form of diaries or journals of their long political struggle?

"No," he replied, "none of us has kept a diary — not Mao, nor Lin Biao, nor I, and none of us wants to write our memoirs." Maybe, though, he continued, a history of China from the Opium War on should be prepared, and per-

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Comics

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haps it would be a good idea to try to get the record down on tape. But, he added, "we're not quite accustomed to the tape recorder in China yet."

**THE PREMIER**, who in the formal part of the conversation, had criticized the Soviet Union, nevertheless expressed his admiration for Joseph Stalin. Looked at from certain points of view, he said, no doubt Stalin had his shortcomings, and even from a Chinese point of view he was not good for China at the Yalta conference with Roosevelt and Churchill, but from a world point of view there was much to be said for him.

"We consider him to be a great Marxist-Leninist," he said. "Also, you must admit he made great contributions to the world war. You must admit this."

Unfortunately, Chou En-lai added, Lenin had died early, and after his death, no one but Stalin could have held the Soviet Union together — no one. And without the 15 years of Soviet construction before the outbreak of World War II, it would have been impossible to defeat the Germans.

The premier, although the dinner had run through almost two hours and many courses, never let the conversation lull. His mind seemed to jump from one topic to another and as it was getting on toward midnight, suddenly began talking about the United States again.

**AMERICA HAS** its merits, he said. It was composed of peoples of all nations and this gave it an advantage of the gradual accumulation of the wisdom of different countries.

"You are also a big country," he said. "We both have about the same amount of land and room for development. Of course, you plead that your economic and political system is good, but let's not argue about that. You will not oppose progress, and if you are going to make progress, of course you must expect change. You will undoubtedly develop faster because of your industrialization," he added.

This turned his mind to the question of language which seemed to have a special fascination for him. He said English was now the second language in China, although the Chinese attached quite a lot of importance to French. There is a tendency in China now, he added, that he didn't quite approve of. Too little attention was being paid to the Russian language.

**PART OF THE** explanation of Chou En-lai's intense interest in language lies in the fact language reform in China from the time of World War I was one of the roots of Chinese political reform and revolution.

"We are giving the Chinese language simplified characters," the premier said. He was obviously intrigued by this question of comparative languages and the emergence of English as the language of diplomacy.

**HIS OBSERVATIONS** on men and the affairs of life were wide. Among other things he had this to say:

—On Chiang Kai-shek. He was, Chou En-lai said, very much acquainted with him. There was one point even from the standpoint of the Americans, Chiang was a man who can stand up to American pressure, not like Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu in Saigon. Chiang has a sense of national respect, but that is not the case with all the people around him. The CIA, Chou En-lai added, will know all about that.

—On birth control. It was not good for China to expand its population, now variously estimated at from 750 million to 850 million. China could not raise living standards with rapid population growth and it was not good for mothers. China was making progress on this problem, he said, but not everywhere in the country.

**SUDDENLY THE** quails eggs and sea slugs were gone and there were some mini-dumplings with meat, and of all things, the first time in our experience here, beautiful white expanses of bread and butter, which the premier consumed with delicate satisfaction.

In short, it was not exactly a TV dinner, and not a typical American interview either.

A few minutes after midnight, the premier gave the signal to disperse. He first sat us down to make a forgotten point about Korea and finally took us to the door, which could not have been more than a quarter of a mile away. It was quite a night.

#### GO SLOW WITH RED CHINA

A leading contender for the nomination for the Presidency of the United States recently stated that in his opinion Red China should be admitted to the United Nations this year. Other well-known political figures of the liberal and left groups are literally falling over themselves in their haste to push Red China for a prominent position among the family of nations.

Already we have had what is termed ping-pong diplomacy and the relaxation of restrictions on trade with the communists of mainland China. Few voices are being raised in alarm at what is going on, but, in the words of the late Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York: "Let's look at the record."

With regard to Red China, a look at the record might be sobering. Here are some things we find:

The communists took over in China by force—by revolution and aggression, just as they have taken over almost everywhere else. They have maintained themselves in power, as communists always do, by purges, murders, suppression, oppression and barbarism.

The Red Chinese committed aggression not only against the Chinese people but, in seeking to advance their stated goal of controlling all Asia, against India and Tibet.

The Red Chinese committed aggression against South Korea and the United States when their North Korean allies attacked South Korea. At that time the UN branded Red China as the aggressor.

The Red Chinese have supplied and supported North Vietnamese communists in their aggression against South Viet Nam. It is noteworthy that Chinese Premier Chou En-lai who was praised by American news media for his friendliness toward the American ping-pong team had just a few days previously in Hanoi

denounced Americans as imperialists, and he informed the North Vietnamese that they had the complete support of Red China in their efforts to defeat the United States.

Red China has devoted its efforts to developing hydrogen weapons while its people live in terrible poverty and the nation is soon expected to be in a position to wield nuclear blackmail against its neighbors.

Sports, like other means, are used to further Red China's goals and intentions. While American newspapers headlined the invitation to the United States ping-pong team to visit Red China, they barely noticed the announcement that Red China would not participate in the International Lawn Tennis Federation because it included Free China on Taiwan. In rejecting membership in the tennis organization almost simultaneously with the invitation to the American ping-pong team, Red China denounced "the manipulation of U.S. imperialism."

Many Asian experts and analysts are frankly alarmed at the turn of events at the manner in which American leadership seems impatient to embrace the leaders of Red China, as vicious and dangerous as they are.

The big question in the minds of a number of Asian experts is this: Will we make the same mistakes with regard to Red China that we have made in our dealings with Russia? Some even go so far as to state that Russia could never have reached its present position of power without the help of the West, particularly of the United States. Almost every time the United States—its leadership impatient to achieve lasting friendship and peace—has cooperated and negotiated with communist Russia, these meetings have been followed by gains for Russia either inside or outside its borders.

It is feared that we are embarking on a course with Red China which will have similar results in Asia. At times when internal troubles caused problems in Russia, we cooperated with the Red bosses by negotiating some concession or agreeing to some Red contention which gave the Red leadership a new propaganda lever with the people.

There is evidence that all is not well inside Red China, that Red failures are causing great unrest among the teeming millions of people. It is also a fact that Chairman Mao has declared: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of issues by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."

There is a strong belief among some experts on international affairs that China is prepared to continue for 100 years or longer its assault against free nations everywhere, and that its leadership might even use nuclear warfare to accomplish its goals.

Red China, then, is an international outlaw, committed to the task of dominating the world for communism. The communists are extremely patient, willing to move slowly to capitalize on American impatience.

We would do well to consider a statement by the Chinese philosopher Confucius, who said: "Do not seek quick results, nor look for small gains. Seek quick results and you will not achieve success, look for small gains and you will not accomplish big projects."

It is difficult to understand why our leaders endanger our nation, trying to do business with international outlaws and in so doing betray our staunch friends.





## HENRY A. KISSINGER --- REVISITED

Well-informed Washington sources, including some members of Congress, consider Presidential Adviser Henry A. Kissinger to be the second most important individual in the U.S. Government and have referred to it as the Kissinger-Nixon Administration.

Henry Alfred Kissinger, born at Fuerth, Germany May 27, 1923, has come a long way fast since his immigration to this country at the age of fifteen. The West German magazine DER SPIEGEL carried an article entitled "This German in the White House" in which it is stated that Kissinger's birth is recorded in the town hall at Fuerth as Alfred Heinz Kissinger, son of Paula Kissinger (nee Stern) and Louis Kissinger, address was Mathilden Strasse 23, Fuerth (which is in middle Franconia). At the time of Kissinger's appointment by President Nixon, French newspapers reported that his father had been a rabbi in Germany. DER SPIEGEL states that Louis Kissinger was principal of a state school for girls of the upper class. The Kissingers came to the U.S. in 1938 as Jewish refugees from the Nazis, Kissinger's father, although over 80 years old, now lives in Washington Heights, N.Y., and has been working as a bookkeeper. His mother has helped support the family by working incognito in Jewish households for bar mitzvahs and parties.

Kissinger was 15 years old when his family came to the U.S. After graduating from George Washington High School in Manhattan, he obtained an A.B. from Harvard in 1950, an M.A. in 1952 and Ph.D. in 1954. On February 6, 1949, he married Ann Fleischer and they had two children. The marriage ended in a divorce in 1964. Noel E. Parmentel, Jr., writing in the Village VOICE, March 18, 1971, stated: "When he (Kissinger) was married to Ann, who was a genuine human being, he couldn't stand it. After she literally slapped to send him through graduate school he almost turned her into a zombie with all that screaming and shouting. Just like the Gestapo. He was ashamed of her New York accent and always told her how she embarrassed him in front of 'important people.' It got so bad she was scared to even open her mouth. That house in Belmont was like 'Gaslight.'" Little wonder his wife divorced him.

Kissinger became a U.S. citizen in 1943 through service in the U.S. Army. In view of the fact that German had been Kissinger's native tongue, he became an interrogator in counter-intelligence. Later, although only a sergeant, he was put in charge of administering a German town. By 1946, because of his capabilities or connections, he was made a civilian employee at a salary of \$10,000 a year. While working for his Master's Degree at Harvard, Kissinger was made executive director of the Harvard International Seminar, a CIA-financed center which sponsors student exchange programs. By the time he received his Doctorate Degree in 1954, he was already serving as a consultant to a number of government agencies and teaching at Harvard. In 1955 Kissinger was appointed director of Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy Studies for the Council on Foreign Relations, and also became a member of that organization. The following year he became director of special study projects for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc. (having been appointed by Nelson Rockefeller) and served in that position for two years. Thereafter he continued teaching at Harvard but took time out during the 1961-62 period to be a consultant for the National Security Council and the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He also served intermittently as a consultant to the State Department and worked closely with Walt W. Rostow in Washington.

One of Kissinger's students at the CIA-financed Harvard International Seminar was Uzi Narkiss who was a senior officer in the Israeli Army at the time and who visited Kissinger at the White House in 1969. Narkiss was the commanding general of the Israeli troops that took Jerusalem in 1967. According to LIFE magazine (September 5, 1969), Narkiss advised Kissinger that Israel will hold the Arab territories as long as it likes.

Confidential sources reported that Kissinger was considered a security risk but obtained his security clearance through President Nixon. Kissinger actually received his appointment as Presidential Adviser for National Security Affairs through the recommendation of Nelson Rockefeller and key people in the

C.F.R. Professor Henry Paolucci, of St. John's University, wrote a study about Kissinger which appeared in the Congressional Record of August 4, 1971, a portion of which states "Henry Kissinger, too, expressed as recently as 1965 the conviction that the time was at hand for a surrender of nationhood because 'institutions based on present concepts of national sovereignty are not enough.' The ultimate goal of a supranationalist world community, he wrote, 'will not come quickly; many intermediate stages must be traversed before it can be reached. It is not too early, however, to prepare ourselves for this step beyond the nation-state.'"

After Kissinger's appointment, he increased the staff of his assistants, consultants, and advisers until today he has 110 people working directly for him, including a number of individuals with dubious backgrounds. One of them is Helmut Sonnenfeldt who is very close to Kissinger and was formerly Chief of Soviet and Eastern Europe matters in the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. During the Eisenhower Administration Sonnenfeldt had been the subject of an intensive FBI investigation regarding the giving of secret information to agents of a foreign power. Although it was reported that the FBI had an iron-clad case, William P. Rogers, who was the Attorney General, refused to prosecute Sonnenfeldt on the grounds that the State Department felt it would not be in the interest of the U.S. Government to have the information become public knowledge. Sonnenfeldt, acting as Kissinger's top assistant, accompanied President Nixon on his trip to Communist Rumania.

Kissinger arranged contracts with the Rand Corp. in California without knowledge of the Secretary of Defense or the Secretary of State. One contract had to do with what the Soviet reaction would be to U.S. atomic attack on Egypt. Another study was for the purpose of preparing a report on the "feasibility" of restoring political, economic, and cultural relations with Castro's Cuba. Kissinger encouraged persons working on Nelson Rockefeller's Latin-American Report in 1969 to press the view that U.S. should offer Cuba normal relations and trade. Kissinger also had a major role in getting the National Council of Churches to call for the U.S. to drop its quarantine of Cuba and re-establish diplomatic relations. Another study ordered by Kissinger was how the anti-Communist government of Brazil might be overthrown.

Kissinger has his own direct connections with the Communist government of North Vietnam. Paul Scott reported on November 12, 1969:

"Although it has been one of the best kept secrets of the Vietnam war, Kissinger has been deeply involved in secret talks with the North Vietnamese.

"Two mysterious Frenchmen have been Kissinger's go between with Hanoi. They are Raymond Aubrac and Professor Herbert Marcovich, friends of Wilfred Burchett, the Australian correspondent whom the Kremlin and Peking uses frequently for high-level intelligence and diplomatic operations." (Burchett is a known KGB Agent)

Aubrac has been director of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization, was a close personal friend of Ho Chi Minh, and on his U.N. passport it was easy to travel to Communist countries from which most Americans are barred. Aubrac had been introduced to Kissinger, then a Harvard professor, in 1967 by Marcovich, a professor at the University of Paris. Kissinger and Marcovich had met earlier at one of the Pugwash meetings organized by pro-Soviet millionaire Cyrus Eaton.

It was on Kissinger's recommendation that President Johnson made an offer to Hanoi to stop the bombing of North Vietnam if Hanoi would give assurances that it would not take advantage of the halt. Kissinger's channels reported that Hanoi would cooperate but they never did and American intelligence officers reported that Hanoi used the lull to rebuild its stock piles of arms and military supplies at advance bases in Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam. . . . which resulted in the deaths of thousands of Americans.

President Nixon endeavored to have Kissinger negotiate the U.S. out of Vietnam but, as it turned out, Kissinger convinced President Nixon that the only way out was for him to unilaterally withdraw U.S. troops.

After the FBI had arrested on conspiracy charges a group affiliated with the East Coast Conspiracy to Save Lives (the Berrigan Case), Kissinger actually entertained in the White House three of the co-conspirators arrested in the plot to kidnap him.

In 1971, prior to the Communist-inspired-and-directed demonstrations for May Day, Kissinger entertained some of the key leaders in the organization that controlled the demonstrations which were aimed at shutting down Washington, D.C. and which resulted in thousands of arrests.

A former employee of Kissinger told Noel E. Parmentel, Jr.: "He's (Kissinger) got us all buffaloed. He can (and will) lift your security, get you a foundation black ball, bong you at the colleges, put you in coventry. He's got spies in every department. He's running the Ministry of Fear. All his phones are tapped and he keeps long dossiers."

According to numerous newspaper and magazine articles, Kissinger had developed the reputation of being a ladies' man and has been dating a number of



women, including Women's Lib leader Gloria Steinem, who is national sponsor of the Committee to Defend the Black Panthers. After graduating from college, Gloria Steinem worked for the National Student Association, which was CIA-financed and which paid for American students to attend Communist youth festivals in Europe. According to NEWSWEEK of August 16, 1971, Gloria Steinem has had a close relationship also with Negro track star Rafer Johnson, movie director Mike Nichols, and they reported Cesar Chavez is proud to call her his friend.

The West German magazine QUICK created a sensation with the publications of secret telegrams of Rolf Pauls, West German Ambassador in Washington, to his home office which disclosed very unusual behind-the-scenes political conversations between West German State Secretary Egon Bahr and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Henry Kissinger. Informed sources state that Henry Kissinger has been promoting the West German concessions to Moscow and Communist East Germany. In fact, a Washington source advised that when Henry Kissinger made his trip to Peking, China, he actually traveled on a West German passport.

One of Kissinger's special assistants who accompanied him on the trip to Red China is Richard Smyser, described by the WASHINGTON POST as Kissinger's Vietnam expert and former member of the Paris peace talks delegation. On January 2, 1971 Congressman John R. Rarick told his colleagues: "Mr. Speaker, it appears that the District of Columbia social event of the year was a trouserless orgy and was held by a member of the staff of Dr. Henry Kissinger, special assistant to President Nixon for national security affairs." A large number of Kissinger's national security affairs staff, other White House staffers and some employees from Capitol Hill and other branches of government attended the "trouserless orgy," during which underwear made from an American flag was revealed. Congressman Rarick remarked that it is little wonder our young people over the country "have become disillusioned with this so-called establishment, when such total disregard for decency and morality is flaunted by people who are related to as representative of our Government. If other members of the Paris peace talks delegation are of the same character as exhibitionist Richard Smyser, we can now begin to understand why even the Vietcong cannot communicate with them."

The withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam without the release of American prisoners of war is looked upon in this country, as well as abroad, as surrender to the enemy. However, the unilateral withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam is the fulfillment of Dr. Kissinger's plan. In the

January 1969 issue of FOREIGN AFFAIRS, the quarterly publication of the Council on Foreign Relations, an article by Dr. Henry Kissinger states his formula for ending the war in Vietnam which calls for a series of steps to bring about a phased withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam and for a political settlement. Dr. Kissinger did not rule out a coalition government with Communist participation.

When the U.S. March for Victory in Vietnam was held last fall, it was expected that South Vietnam's Vice-president, Nguyen Cao Ky, would attend and speak at the rally which called for a military victory in South Vietnam. The New York TIMES of September 26, 1970 noted that Henry A. Kissinger, President Nixon's adviser on foreign policy, had scheduled a meeting in Paris with Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky to try to "persuade him not to attend the March for Victory rally here next week." The White House confirmed that Mr. Kissinger was flying to Paris and would meet with Mr. Ky, with the end result, of course, that Ky was pressured into not appearing at the patriotic rally.

Another of Henry Kissinger's secret activities was to obtain a \$100 million cut-back in the Defense Department's budget for intelligence-gathering operations. Veteran intelligence officials viewed this as a move by Kissinger to tighten his White House control over all intelligence operations. Since intelligence estimates are used as a key factor in the formation of American foreign policy, a tighter control of national intelligence operations would greatly increase Kissinger's already tremendous influence in the making of foreign policy.

In 1970 when the Soviet Embassy held a grand-scale celebration of Lenin's birthday, Henry Kissinger was designated as the Nixon Administration's representative for the Lenin birthday celebration, this designation reportedly being Kissinger's own idea.

Through the unusual media of the society section of the WASHINGTON POST of February 20, 1971, in a column written by Dorothy McCardle, we learn that it was Henry Kissinger who worked on President Nixon's State of the World message. So powerful has Henry Kissinger become at the White House that even the liberal editor of the HARVARD CRIMSON, David Landau, writing for the WASHINGTON POST of July 11, 1971 observed "Kissinger has used his position in government as a protective cloak to conceal his larger ambitions and purposes. Far from being detached, objective arbiter of presidential decision-making, he has become a crucial mold and supporter of Mr. Nixon's foreign policy. Instead of merely holding the bureaucracy at comfortable arm's length, he has entangled it in a web of useless projects and studies, cleverly shifting an important locus of

advisory power from the Cabinet departments to his own office" Mr. Landau also noted that, as a confidential adviser to the President, Kissinger has successfully claimed executive privilege when asked to testify on the record in congressional hearings.

Informed sources state that Henry A. Kissinger is not only a protege of Nelson A. Rockefeller, but has been an adviser to him for over 15 years. The original relationship goes back to Kissinger's student days at Harvard when he received a Rockefeller Fund Fellowship for political theory. Kissinger attended both the 1964 and 1968 Republican Conventions as a Rockefeller aide and is credited with having pushed the Republican platform towards a more dovish position on Vietnam. Kissinger was also associated with the Rockefellers in the special studies project in 1956-57 and then from 1958-59 when he was research secretary for a Council on Foreign Relations special discussion group, again on Rockefeller's recommendations.

Henry Kissinger's program for trade, cultural and diplomatic relations with Communist China (now embraced by Nixon), Kissinger's plan to restore relations with Cuba, his arranging for the President to visit Communist countries are all a part of a Rockefeller program to stimulate worldwide trade with Communist countries. In January 1967, Nelson Rockefeller and Cyrus Eaton, Jr., son of the sponsor of the Pugwash Conferences, joined forces to profit by trading with the Communists. The International Basic Economy Corp. (which was organized in 1947 under the principal direction of Nelson Rockefeller and is controlled by the Rockefeller Brothers) and Tower International Inc. (headed by Cyrus Eaton, Jr.) announced plans as revealed in the N.Y. TIMES of January 16, 1967 in an article entitled "Eaton Joins Rockefeller to Spur Trade with Reds." The TIMES noted that the joint effort of International Basic Economy Corp. and Tower International, Inc. is seen as combining the investment skills and resources of the Rockefellers and the special entree to Communist officialdom that Tower enjoys largely as a result of contacts cultivated over the last 15 years by Cyrus Eaton, Sr., always welcomed as a V.I.P. in Communist countries.

After his return from the secret meeting with Chou-En-Lai, Kissinger made a hurried and secret trip to London where reportedly he conferred with a mystery man named Victor Louis at the Soviet Embassy. Victor Louis, whose real name is Vitaly Yevgenyevich Lui, is a high ranking member of Soviet Intelligence who carries out secret diplomatic missions for the Soviet government with heads of state and key internationalists throughout the world. It was Victor Louis who arranged the sale of the Khrushchev Memoirs to LIFE magazine after their careful editing by the KGB. Louis, who is reportedly a millionaire, is so important that he resides in a three-story mansion located 15 miles outside of

Moscow with a swimming pool, pine wood sauna, private tennis court and garage which contains his five automobiles. His standard of living exceeds that of some of the most important members of the Soviet hierarchy. Although the secret meeting between KGB agent Victor Louis and Henry Kissinger was not reported by the world press, NEWSWEEK magazine on August 9, 1971 did report that Victor Louis has made application for an American visa and has put out private feelers for a meeting with Kissinger.

In addition to having been on the payroll of the Council on Foreign Relations and having been a long-time member of that organization, Henry Kissinger was accepted by the Bilderberg group and was permitted to attend at least one of their meetings. His name appeared on the list of participants at the Bilderberger Conference held at Williamsburg, Va. March 21-22, 1964. A number of other C.F.R. members are also connected with the Bilderberg group whose meetings are so secret that the American press does not even report them. The C.F.R. has had as active members Soviet agents Alger Hiss, Lauchlin Currie and Harry Dexter White; Herbert Matthews, who assisted Castro to power; Joseph Fels Barnes, identified as a Communist, who wrote Eisenhower's "Crusade in Europe" for him, Cyrus Eaton, pro-Soviet multi-millionaire; identified Communist John K. Fairbank, whose advice on Chinese Communist affairs is now being sought by U.S. officials. Another interesting member of the subversive C.F.R. is George A. Lincoln, Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, an executive agency which has jurisdiction and control of the carrying out of the executive orders issued by President Nixon when he declared a state of national emergency "for economic reasons" and then announced his wage and price freeze. This 90-day "freeze" is but "Phase I" of bigger but unfortunately not better things to come, a transitional period while the dictatorial powers now being assumed by the President and his top "adviser" Kissinger are being more carefully worked out.

Informed sources in Washington are of the opinion that, although he is a known security risk and obviously working against the interests of our country, Henry Kissinger is so firmly entrenched in his position that even President Nixon is unable to remove him. Perhaps we should call it the Kissinger Administration.

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b7C

Remarks:

*Special Agent ONI  
Santa Fe Bldg. Dallas, Texas*

b7C

*desired thumbnail sketch of  
Jack Forum for his report - sketch  
as contained in Ser 24 of a set out  
in "Dallas Times Herald" given*

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Special Agent

b7C





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No

Dallas, Texas  
October 21, 1971

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover,  
Director,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 4-9-02 BY SP5 AJS  
954681

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I thought you might be personally interested in the following information. Mr. H. L. Hunt, a multimillionaire Dallas oil producer, telephonically contacted me today and furnished the following information.

He stated that he was going to put on a quiet, but concentrated, campaign to have Presidential Advisor Dr. Henry A. Kissinger dismissed. He stated that this campaign would be launched by a letter going out to a large number of Federal and State Judges, prominent lawyers, Attorneys General of the states and to outstanding military leaders of the past. He said his letter would point out that Dr. Kissinger was only an appointee by the President, but that apparently he had taken over dictating the foreign policy of the United States, which Hunt described at this time as being the worst in our history.

The letter would also point out that the individuals to whom the letter was addressed could, if they would, do something about it but he did not state exactly what he would expect these people to do. Hunt stated that he is currently working on the letter and that it should go out in the near future.

For your information, Hunt is alleged to have, at one time, indicated he was going to contribute to Mr. Nixon's campaign, but later apparently contributed rather heavily to the campaign of George Wallace in the last Presidential election. ✓

Sincerely,

62-2038-26a  
  
J. Gordon Shanklin,  
Special Agent in Charge

Room 200, Mercantile Continental Bldg.  
Dallas, Texas 75201

PERSONAL

October 22, 1971

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Reference is made to my letter to you of October 21, 1971 concerning a call I had from H. L. Hunt, who indicated that he was putting on a campaign to have Presidential Advisor Dr. Henry A. Kissinger dismissed. I received in today's mail the attached note from Hunt with the clippings which are being forwarded to you.

Enclosures 5

Sincerely,

  
J. Gordon Shanklin

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Dallasite Hunt Charges Kissinger Bossing Nixon

By OT HAMPTON  
Staff Writer

Oil billionaire H L Hunt is fighting what may turn out to be the biggest battle of his life, but he vows he's determined to win it.

He's waging a nationwide campaign—via the media and on a person-to-person basis—to get Dr Henry A Kissinger, the President's Number One adviser, "dismissed." He claims

Kissinger "has as little going for him as any man I've ever heard of."

Hunt, who still keeps regular office hours in his spartan suite at the First National Bank Bldg, told The Times Herald he is convinced Kissinger is a threat to the nation's security.

He claims Kissinger, not President Nixon is "running the United States."

"Kissinger got his foot in the government during President Truman's second term of office," Hunt said, "and he's been dominating our foreign policy ever since."

"Americans owe it to themselves," he said, "to find out all they can about this man."

Hunt said he is taking his fight to some of the nation's leading attorneys, peace officers, attorneys general, retired judges, admirals, generals and everyone else he can find "who is not enraptured with Kissinger." He feels his campaign is making excellent progress.

Every person on the selected mailing list, Hunt said, is receiving background reports on Kissinger.

Hunt said Kissinger's stand on foreign affairs and national de-

fense matters "changes from time to time." He said Kissinger has switched his position on limited nuclear war in the past two years.

Hunt hopes Americans will study Kissinger to find out if he is "indispensable to the nation, simply a non-entity in high places, or a dangerous, power-seeking, behind-the-scenes dictator."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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Editor: Felix R. McKnight

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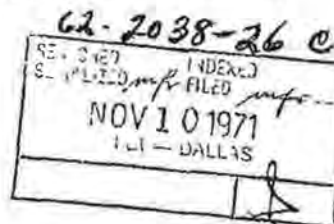
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—Staff Photo by Andy Hanson

Oilman H. L. Hunt sits in his office high atop the First National Bank Bldg. and ponders his nationwide battle against presidential adviser Henry A. Kissinger.

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(P. 10)



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## H. L. Hunt Predicts Red Takeover Soon

SAN FRANCISCO (UPI)

Oil billionaire H. L. Hunt, the longtime supporter of ultra-conservative causes, said Sunday the United States "may be good for only two or three years before the Communists take over."

Hunt, one of the world's wealthiest men, called a news conference on the eve of the American Petroleum Institute meeting and gave a rambling discourse on world affairs, oil industry problems and his family's history.

"We are just about to become a second-class power," the tall, white-haired oilman said.

Asked about President Nixon's planned trip to Mainland China, Hunt replied "You can't carry out successful negotiations with the Communists." He said the United States should have learned its lesson from the events which followed the recognition of the Soviet Union during the 1930s.

"I'll say modestly that our country will be gone very shortly," he said. "The Communists are much smarter than freedom-loving people. America doesn't want to do anything else except make a profit."

"I don't want to be shy," he added. "I want to be consistent—and we in this country may be good for only two or three years before the Communists take over."

"And communism isn't something being forced on us from Europe—Karl Marx had very few followers. United States' diplomats started it years ago when they arranged the sealed train that took the Communists from Switzerland through Germany (to Russia) in 1917."

Of the early Communist commissars in Russia, 160 were from the United States, Hunt said.

Hunt, whose blue eyes are sharp and piercing, insisted on attention and on deciding what he would talk about during the conference he organized with personal calls to news media.

During the session in his 23rd floor suite in the Fairmont Hotel, Hunt rambled through a lot of family history.

"I'll tell you what I called you for when I get around to it," he said at one point. "So far, I've only been entertaining."

He urged other oil produc-

ers to use his right-wing radio broadcasts for commercials opposing any reduction in the 27½ per cent oil depletion allowance on federal taxes.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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Morning News"  
Dallas, Texas

Date

Edition

Author

Editor: Jack B. Kruger

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Simplicity Key to Hunt Christmas

By OT HAMPTON, Staff Writer

How does one of the world's richest men approach Christmas?

Oil billionaire H. L. Hunt, who could give his 10 sons and daughters gold-plated Bells, says out of petty cash if he wanted to, plans to give his children something simple, whatever Ruth (his wife) can figure out.

He indicated he might give cash gifts to one or two of his sons ("Those who don't have as much as I do.")

HUNT, WHO IS now 82 but still a firm believer in long hours of work, said he plans to attend worship services at First Baptist Church on Christmas Day, then visit with a son or daughter for "a quiet turkey dinner."

"I like Christmas because people seem to get such a joy out of it," he said. "It's a happy time. The birth of Christ is one of the great truths of all time."

Hunt said he has fixed up a huge live oak tree in front of his home at 4009 W. Lawther Drive as a sort of public expression of his liking for Christmas. He hopes others will get a chance to see the tree and enjoy it.

H L Hunt

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(Indicate page, name of  
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"The Dallas  
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Dallas, Texas

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HUNT SAID HE remembers a "lot of happy Christmases," but the one that stands out in his mind was 1923.

"I was drilling an oil well for someone near Eldorado, Arkansas," Hunt recalled. "I had my own rig and I worked right through Christmas. I think I had a sandwich from home for my dinner. The well came in and the owner was happy. It was a constructive Christmas."

Earlier this week, Hunt was treated to what is becoming a tradition at his downtown Dallas office. A group of black orphans from the Malakoff Training School at Malakoff breezed into town and gave him an impromptu Christmas serenade.

Hunt's face lighted up when he talked about the orphans, to whom he is a benefactor. "The kids are quite good," he said, "They really make Christmas a merry time."

Dates, celery, pecans

## Lunch with H. L. Hunt under the 'family tree'

By OT HAMPTON  
Staff Writer

He drank gustily from a big brown cup of Charolais beef consomme and munched gently on half-shell pecans, fresh dates and raw celery.

It was high noon on the 29th floor of the First National Bank Building and H. L. Hunt was having lunch.

The meal was spartan all the way, just like the furnishings in his suite of offices.

He pushed a button and a friendly secretary appeared.

"I'll have lunch for three," the oil billionaire said. "You can serve us now, please."

He moved to the edge of a long coffee table and invited his guests to find seats. Without further formality, he passed a platter of dates, pecans and celery, along with the steaming consomme.

Ronald L. Brown, a Louisianan who had never eaten such frugal food for lunch, said, "This is very good, Mr. Hunt. I really like it." The other guest nodded in agreement.

Hunt, now 83, appears to be in perfect health. He claims his eating habits have a lot to do with it. The back he wrenched a year ago has healed and he can maneuver almost as easily as he did 42 years ago when he helped bring in the giant East Texas oil field.

Yoga, and other health exercises, occupy an hour or so of his time every day. He keeps his mind agile by "thinking constructively."

Hunt, many say, has changed little since the dirt-poor days of the 20s and 30s. He's still humble and appreciative of every kindness bestowed on him. To the amazement of his friends, he talks about money as if he were just now aware of the fact he has plenty.

"It's good to have money," he said. "You can do all the things you've always wanted to do, any time you want to."

While enjoying lunch, he fingered a tall stack of letters he's received from "other Hunts" in response to advertisements he ran recently in an attempt to find some of his relatives.

"These letters tell me the Hunts of America are pretty good people," he chuckled, as he scanned. "Most of the Hunts I've known in my lifetime liked

to mix and mingle freely with other people. I do, too. We are certainly not a clannish people."

He said the "warm, personal tone" of the hundreds of letters he's received (and they're still coming in) is "very encouraging." He believes many of the Hunts who wrote him about their family trees may be related to him.

Asked if any were "sincere," he said, "No, I doubt it. They seem to be sincere folks."

Hunt probably won't leave any money to his new-found friends and relatives (there's too many of them), but he'll certainly add them to his evergrowing mailing list and keep them informed on what he thinks is wrong with the world.

He likes to share his views, and his lunches.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

"The Dallas  
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Dallas, Texas

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February 28, 1958

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Dear Friend:

In the enclosed article Frank Donner tells a disturbing story of the witch hunt at the local level. These local persecutions are multiplying. Unless they are stopped, they may well present a threat even more serious to American freedom than the witch hunt in Washington.

Since the enclosed article was written, 43 additional persons have been subpoenaed to appear before the current grand jury in Dade County, Florida, to answer questions about their political views. New pressures have been exerted upon individuals to force them to become informers. The victims of the Florida witch hunt need help more than ever. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is trying to help them defend themselves in the courts. They need your support and financial assistance.

With your help the Florida witch hunt may be stopped before sedition indictments are brought against the already harassed victims. If these can be stopped, American freedom will be the winner and all Americans will benefit.

Yours sincerely,

Clark Foreman  
Clark Foreman

ef:sl

January 22, 1955

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Frank Donner

# The Miami Formula

*An Exposé of  
Grass-Roots McCarthyism*

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*Miami:* SINCE *The Nation* reported on the Red Hunt in Miami in its issue of August 7, 1954, events have converted this vacation land into a unique symbol of organized repression. County officials, the local press, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with some aid from the House Committee on Un-American Activities (the Velde committee), have produced what can be termed the "Miami formula" for making Mr. Carthyism work at the grass roots.

More than a hundred persons have been subpoenaed to testify about their political beliefs and affiliations before the Dade County grand jury and in the

FRANK J. DONNER is a New York lawyer who specializes in constitutional

office of George A. Brautigam, state attorney. Thirty-one who pleaded the privilege against self-incrimination have been convicted of contempt, thirty of them receiving jail sentences of one year. Established legal procedures were repeatedly and flagrantly violated; in one instance a judge issued orders from the bench based on events in a grand jury room which had not yet taken place; in another, involving the disbarment of a local attorney for pleading the Fifth Amendment, the man who had instigated the action sat as judge in the proceedings. Citizens of the community who for years enjoyed excellent reputations have been smeared by the press, in some instances with catastrophic economic consequences to them and their families.

The current campaign originated in a grand-jury investigation in January, 1954, of the politics of a Miami Beach councilman active in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Witnesses have been questioned intensively about membership in such organizations as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the F. D. R. Club, the American Veterans Committee, and the Progressive Party. One witness was asked about postcards mailed to Florida's Senators protesting the Walter-McCarran immigration act. It is noteworthy that the first peak of the campaign of repression was reached in the months immediately following the United States Supreme Court's desegregation decision. According to the *Miami Herald* of August 29, 1954, a University of Miami research

eral Richard Ervin that "competent officials have been reluctant to take initial steps [toward integration] for fear of being branded Communists." W. Hayden Hamilton, president of Florida States' Rights, Inc., has charged that Communists were behind the move for immediate enforcement of the desegregation decision.

An ugly thread of anti-Semitism also runs through the campaign. Twenty-nine of the thirty-one persons convicted of contempt were Jews, including five leaders of Jewish community groups. The Miami Jewish Cultural Center has been a repeated object of grand jury investigations and on at least one occasion of a bomb threat. In recent weeks a number of new witnesses have been subpoenaed, all of them Jewish, included among them were the cantor of a synagogue whose spiritual leaders had been actively resisting the witch hunt.

I have referred to a "first" peak in the Miami story. A second is still to come. The Miami formula can be said to have evolved in two stages, the first of which ended recently when the Florida Supreme Court completed the reversal of all thirty-one contempt convictions. The reversals were based on United States Supreme Court precedents which clearly established the right of witnesses in political investigations to invoke the Fifth Amendment. But in closing one avenue of prosecution the Florida Supreme Court opened another by suggesting in its decision that state anti-subversion statutes make it an element of a crime to be a member of the Communist Party or of a "Communist-front" organization.

Snatching victory from defeat, State Attorney Brautigam immediately announced to the press that the court's decision was "just what we are looking for. Now we can go forward and seek indictments on mere membership in the Communist conspiracy." Early last week he declared that he would seek the first of the new indictments within a fortnight. The *Daily News* reported this development on January 12.

"Up to a point," [Brautigam] said, "we are following somewhat the same order of procedure in the investigation as we did before the state supreme court decision. We question persons first in my office. If they invoke the Constitutional protection against self-incrimination, they then are subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury."



Representative Velde

Those who continue to refuse to answer inquiries before the grand jury, he indicated, will be subject to indictment as members of the Communist Party conspiracy against the state of Florida. Anyone who has been involved in any way in a continuing conspiracy such as the Communist Party, the prosecutor explained, cannot quit merely by ceasing active participation. "In the eyes of the law," Brautigam said, "once a Communist always a Communist—unless they can prove otherwise."

In short, Brautigam proposes to obtain indictments against those who plead the privilege and prove his case by evidence of mere past membership in a proscribed organization. As this is written, fifteen persons have already been subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury on January 20, according to the *Daily News* report, which adds that Brautigam expects to include in the new series of indictments "many of the thirty-one Miamians" previously convicted of contempt and freed by the state Supreme Court.

The scene is now set for the second stage of the evolving Miami story, which for months was a sensation in the local press but never got out to the country at large. The story is worth detailed study as an example of how vigilantism can flourish behind a facade of legality and as a dangerous pattern for similar campaigns of repression elsewhere in the United States, under local auspices and away from the spotlight of Washington.

### The Hirsch Case

THE case of Samuel Hirsch, a Miami theater man, gives the flavor of what has been happening here. Hirsch was indicted by Brautigam's grand jury on

eight counts—each count carrying a penalty of twenty years' imprisonment—charging perjury in denying Communist Party membership and in denying certain activities on the University of North Carolina campus in 1946-48. The leading witness against Hirsch is Ralph V. Long, an F. B. I. informer now living in Durham, North Carolina. The *Miami Daily News* and its Red "expert," Damon Runyon, Jr., are promoting the affair as a "little Hiss case" and a "rewrite of the famed Hiss-Chambers drama." But it may be that the *Daily News* is gloating too soon. The man who is supposed to bring Hirsch to trial, Dade County Solicitor John Marsh, has as yet made no move to do so. "Florida law," explained Mr. Marsh publicly, "requires that we have at least two witnesses to substantiate a perjury charge. So far my office has found the grand jury's indictments of eight counts against Hirsch were based on testimony of one witness [Long] in some counts and none in others." Mr. Marsh also stated that in his view political investigations were frequently directed at sincere liberals, adding wryly that he hoped he would not be called a Communist for so thinking.

The Velde committee held its Miami hearings from November 29 to December 1, after Hirsch had been indicted. Long's testimony was the chief feature of the session, it drew from Chairman Velde the comment that here was "one of the most outstanding witnesses ever to appear before this committee." In view of this praise Long's history is worth some study. At the time of his appearance in Miami his home-town newspaper, the *Durham, North Carolina, Morning Herald*, had this to say about him:

Long has a police record extending from September 11, 1949, through November 3, 1954. He has been tried twenty times for public drunkenness and each time has either served time, paid a fine, or appealed the judgment to the Superior Court. Several of the appeals are now pending. In addition, Long has been tried twice for disorderly conduct and twice for assault and battery. A nol prosequi with leave was taken in the first case of disorderly conduct, while Long paid court costs in the second. The first case of assault and battery was not pressed, no disposition was recorded in the second.

Long's twenty-first conviction for drunkenness came on November 4, less



than a month before his appearance before the committee. Apparently his thirst overcame him again only a few days after he returned from Miami, for the records of the Recorder's Court in Durham, as printed in the *Morning Herald* of December 7, show that on December 6 he was again found guilty of drunkenness and sentenced to thirty days. It was his twenty second conviction in five years (see photostat reproduced on this page).

The handling of Hirsch by the committee was on a par with the use of a confirmed drunkard as a leading witness. Although Hirsch faced a serious criminal trial, he was subpoenaed to testify on the very issues involved in the perjury case against him. Long was a surprise witness and Hirsch had no opportunity to cross-examine him and no protection against incompetent, hearsay, and opinion evidence which, smeared over the first pages of the Miami newspapers, poisoned public opinion against him in advance of his trial. The committee gave the screw a final twist by turning his testimony over to the Justice Department for possible federal perjury prosecution.

The Velde hearings did show one thing on the plus side—namely, that at least some informers may come to be without honor in their own country, even when their own country is Miami. This was the first investigation of subversion here without benefit of Paul Crouch, informer extraordinary, who is no longer used by the F. B. I. and whom Attorney General Brownell has promised to investigate.

### The Press

THE heart of the Miami formula is the press, especially the *Miami Daily News*, which for six years has been systematically shocking the community with Red scares. In 1948 the newspaper "covered" a public meeting addressed by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Communist leader, by printing pictures of the audience and telling its readers that the center of subversion in the United States had shifted from California to Miami. In 1949 the newspaper repeated the tactic, this time in connection with a meeting of the Civil Rights Congress. Then it called upon Paul Crouch for a series of articles which elaborated the thesis that Miami was the hub of an international Red net-

work covering Latin America. Crouch's charges that Armand Scala, a Pan-American employee, was a Communist courier between the United States and Latin America resulted in a successful libel suit. But Scala's legal victory did nothing to lessen the fear and intimidation which by this time had engulfed a sizable portion of Miami's permanent community. Liberal organizations purged their memberships of "radical" suspects, liberals themselves retired from organizations which they thought might be vulnerable, many persons left the community altogether.

Then and since, the *Daily News* has exploited the familiar types of witch-hunt propaganda—the irresponsible listing of individuals prominent in liberal movements as Reds or subversives and the political horror story giving a hair-raising account of espionage and sabotage. Specialists in this field have been Crouch ("The Reds infiltrated Miami as a dispatch point for couriers to revolutionaries in Latin America"), Joseph Mazzei ("The Reds tried to take over the Opa locka naval station as an invasion base for the Red Army"), and Al Spears, who seems to think the Reds have been trying to convert Opa locka into a model Soviet village. There are other types—the public repentance story ("I was lonely and the Reds made a dupe out of me"), and the padded reports of former undercover F. B. I. agents ("Now my breathtaking adventures can be told").

The *Daily News* coupled these scare stories with constant urgings to readers to "repent" or "inform," preferably of course in the newspaper's own columns.

Of a witness who had remained silent under interrogation Runyon remarked that had he agreed to testify he would have come to no more grief "than such talking ex-Communists as Whittaker Chambers, Louis Budenz, and Paul Crouch. He might've even wound up writing—with the aid of some itinerant rewrite man—the story of his Red life." The newspaper has been as adept with the carrot as with the stick.

In June, 1954, Runyon collaborated with Al Spears, who claims to have been an F. B. I. undercover agent, on a series of articles charging that at least three hundred card-holding Communists lived in the area and complaining that all of them still seemed able to earn a living. Actually about fifty alleged Reds were named, many of them on hearsay evidence. The series also smeared organizations which had never before been charged with subversion, among them the F. D. R. Club, a Miami Bosch discussion forum, and the First Unitarian Church of Miami.

Far from being an abstract exercise in the art of smearing, the articles had highly practical results. Runyon had been claiming that witnesses before a previous grand jury had shown reluctance to inform. Now a new grand jury investigation was started, and most of the individuals named in the *Daily News* articles were subpoenaed for questioning. Under these conditions it is hardly surprising that the newspaper treated the investigation as its own private journalistic fief. We shall see later how Brautigam, conducting the proceedings, used the press for his purposes.

Runyon had a field day as the grand

## Recorder's Court Cases Heard Here Yesterday



Jury ground out subpoenas and contempt-actions. "The Communist Party in Miami," he wrote, "already has complete plans of the stockade [the new police lock-up] which were obtained in anticipation that all would be rounded up when Soviet Russia attacks the United States. In another article he wrote: "The Communist Party's method of preying on lonely people was described yesterday by a pretty German girl, a former atomic-bomb technician, who said she unwittingly fell into Communist hands." The story was illustrated with a photograph of the girl—in a scanty sun suit, of course—bearing the caption, "I was lonely." The disbarment of the local attorney who pleaded the Fifth Amendment brought from Runyon the announcement: "The legal arm of the Communist Party [has been] smashed." When the disbarred lawyer moved away from Miami, the *Daily News* carried a huge front-page headline, "New Czar for Reds in Miami," but who the new "czar" was or where he came from the newspaper

has never bothered to say, the *Daily News*. Runyon's inventiveness was wide-ranging. "Reds' Safety in Jail Feared as Inmates 'Haze' Smolikoff," ran the headline over a story which reported that Charles Smolikoff, one of the men jailed for contempt, had been beaten by fellow prisoners in an effort to make him sing patriotic songs "backward and forward." The *Daily News* ran the story for a full day after it had been denied by the sheriff.

Max Shlafrock, another of the contempt-charge victims, was pilloried by Runyon when an advertisement over Shlafrock's name appeared in the *Sunday Worker* congratulating the Communist newspaper on its thirtieth anniversary. The *Daily News* did print Shlafrock's denial that he had sent the advertisement. Subsequently the contractor established that he had been the victim of a frame up, both the order for the advertisement and the check accompanying it had been forged, the check had been drawn on a bank in which Shlafrock had no account. But the ex-

posure of the fraud did not save the victim, a contractor who had received official commendation from the Miami municipality for his building activities, from economic ruin. The buildings he had already put up were checked for sabotage!

The pattern of frame up is wide spread. Even letters sent to the editor of the *Daily News* have been used. In 1949 a letter received by the newspaper over the name of a young Miami, Walter Marks, said: "I am a Communist and proud of it. I defy you to have a representative of your filthy yellow, capitalist, reactionary press interview me." Marks denied he ever sent the letter—a denial which in the circumstances can certainly be believed. Marks recalls that he received a large shipment of Communist literature while he was in the army during the war from someone who faked a sender's name and address. Similar entrapment maneuvers are in use in Miami today. Individuals named in the press in connection with the witch hunt often receive "dear comrade" letters which seek to involve them in fantastic conspiratorial adventures.

### The State Attorney

THE reversal of the convictions Brautigam obtained in the contempt cases is not the only blow he has suffered in the course of his career as state attorney. According to the *Miami Herald* former Acting Governor Charley Jones, disturbed by the prevalence of gambling, prostitution, and other crimes in Dade County, threatened several times to suspend or transfer Brautigam. Each time Brautigam's supporters insisted that such action would impede the investigation into subversion. Finally in November, shortly before his term ended, the Acting Governor transferred Brautigam to Pensacola on the ground that a Dade County murder case was being mishandled. The State Attorney has only just returned from his exile and has told friends that he intends to get right back into his holy crusade against Reds.

Basic to the Miami formula is the use of government machinery for extra-legal purposes. Brautigam, arguing for his contempt convictions, insisted that his witnesses had no right to plead the self-incriminating privilege because he was not investigating whether crimes had been committed but was merely in-



"For heaven's sake, use more restraint than I did!"

quering about the affiliations and associations during a period antedating the statute of limitations. But this argument disregards the fact that a state attorney and a grand jury have power to inquire only into the commission of crimes and certainly have no power to exact disclosure of private matters unless they are relevant to that purpose. In using the threat of a contempt indictment to force confessions of political heresy rather than as a means of removing obstructions to the discovery of crime, Brautigam has extended the frontiers of the witch hunt. There is an obvious parallel between these tactics and the ones used by Congressional committees which, without legislative purpose, seek to jail witnesses for contempt because they refuse to "expose" themselves or become informers.

On another occasion Brautigam sought to justify his line of questioning by declaring that he was only trying to find out whether Communists had been receiving any pension or welfare benefits in violation of law. None of the witnesses called were shown to have received any such benefits.

While in "exile" in Pensacola, Brautigam was reported in the Pensacola press to have made a speech in which he boasted that he was in charge of a secret organization of fifty Dade County attorneys who reported regularly to his office on what was happening throughout the county on the "subversion" front. He referred to the group as a "little F B I." At the same time he announced plans to interrogate five Dade County lawyers who, he hinted, had instructed witnesses on how to evade the law. From Miami he sent out chain letters to prominent McCarthyites throughout the country boasting of the effective results he had been achieving in his own bailiwick.

Starting from a premise which the state Supreme Court has since declared to be false, Brautigam handled the witnesses with a remarkable disregard for both common decency and common legal practice. It was not unusual for subpoenas to be served in the dead of night or before dawn. In one case a subpoena was served upon a sick woman whose husband had already been indicted and jailed. When a doctor certified that her illness prevented her from answering the subpoena, he was himself sub-



George A. Brautigam

poenaed. The woman's sickroom was then broken into by another serve and this time she was forced to answer, was cited for contempt, and jailed despite her illness. The woman's father, suffering from a heart condition, was likewise subpoenaed and was excused only after his physician had courageously warned Brautigam's office that response would be fatal. In another case a subpoena was served on a woman in a maternity ward who had given birth to a child only a few days before; the server declared that he had been given permission by the woman's physician to make service. A woman of eighty, deaf and partially blind, was subpoenaed. In one instance the parents of adopted children were threatened that unless they cooperated their children would be taken from them.

Once subpoenaed, witnesses were "tried" and found guilty by the press before they ever reached the grand jury room. Frequently Fred Jones, Brautigam's chief investigator, invited TV camera men to "shoot" witnesses waiting in the anteroom, at the same time turning "dossiers" on them over to newsmen. Samuel Hirsch's appearance in the courthouse was turned into a journalistic circus. He was called, excused, and then recalled in an atmosphere of fanfare. While he was waiting to be recalled, newspapers headlining lurid charges about him were distributed in the courthouse. Members of the grand jury were seen reading the newspapers during a

wait before Hirsch appeared before them. One of the appellant's briefs charges that Brautigam insisted on being present during the deliberations and final vote on many of the cases. Florida law specifically provides that no person shall be present while the grand jurors are deliberating or voting.

One while Brautigam was waiting to argue before County Judge Holt that a group of witnesses should be cited for contempt, the witness read in the *Daily News* that they had already been cited. Pressed for an explanation, Brautigam said: "Don't believe everything you read in the papers." But the *Daily News* story turned out to be excellent prophecy. On another occasion the same newspaper had two witnesses convicted five days before they were tried!

### The Courts

ON September 22, 1954, Judge Holt signed orders requiring seventeen witnesses to show cause why they should not be cited for contempt as the result of their refusal to answer questions before the grand jury. "Show cause" orders of this kind are not unusual, normally they are issued in response to a petition by the state attorney upon vote of the grand jury. But in this instance none of the witnesses had as yet appeared before the grand jury; they were not subpoenaed to testify, as a matter of fact, until September 23, twenty-four hours after the show cause orders against them were issued. Thus the orders signed by Judge Holt recited facts which had not yet taken place. Moreover, mimeographed opinions, identical in text, stating Judge Holt's reasons for convicting the seventeen witnesses were filed in advance of the hearings on the contempt citations.

Judge Holt and Brautigam gave varying explanations of the incredible affair, so reminiscent of the *lettres de cachet* of the French Revolution. The Judge blamed the whole thing on a "clerical error." But Brautigam, according to the *Miami Herald*, explained the matter to the Florida Supreme Court somewhat differently. The *Herald* said:

The state attorney [Brautigam] conceded Judge Holt had signed the show-cause order in advance. . . He said this was done as a convenience to the state attorney and the order was to be served only if [the witness] did not answer ques-

tions for the grand jury. Justice Elwyn Thomas commented that Judge Holt apparently had delegated his authority to issue court orders to Brautigam, and Justice E. Harris Drew said it appeared Judge Holt had acted judicially before the matter was before him. Retired Justice Rivers Buford, sitting for an absent justice, said, "As far as I'm concerned it's out the window."

When the Reverend Joseph Barth, pastor of the First Unitarian Church of Miami, and his secretary, Mrs. Helen F. Williams, filed an affidavit asking Judge Holt to disqualify himself from hearing the cases because of his handling of the "show-cause" orders, the Judge promptly ordered them to show cause why they should not be held in contempt. The affair was finally settled without Mr. Barth or his secretary having to pay a fine or go to jail.

The show-cause incident is the most dramatic but by no means the only example of irregularity in the judicial handling of the contempt cases. A note of persecution is perceptible throughout. Normally, for instance, bail applications in Florida are summary proceedings, in these cases, however, most of the witnesses indicted suffered substantial periods of incarceration before they were ultimately released. Mike Shantzek spent more than five weeks in jail, Charles Smolikoff a month. In most cases the bail was raised from an initial \$2,500 to \$5,000.

Judge Holt, presiding at the contempt trials, affirmed Brautigam's thesis that the witnesses were not entitled to plead the Fifth Amendment because they were being questioned concerning matters antedating the statute of limitations. His opinion ignored the applicable decisions of the United States Supreme Court, indeed, he insisted that it was the "American way" that "each case must be decided on its own basis." Yet he inadvertently destroyed the basis of his own argument by admitting from the bench that the witnesses had substantial reason to fear self-incrimination if they answered questions. "I don't care what the [Florida] Supreme Court does," he declared in the hearing of defense counsel, "these people will be indicted for criminal communism."

The Judge twisted the screws on the witnesses at every opportunity. Smolikoff, for instance, was given his one-year sentence for contempt by Judge

Holt on July 6. On July 17 the Florida Supreme Court ordered Smolikoff released from custody under a writ of habeas corpus. Judge Holt reheard the matter two days later, reaffirming his previous denial of bail despite the higher court's ruling. The Judge stated that Smolikoff would have to go to the state Supreme Court to get bail. The court followed a similar procedure in every case. Each witness was forced to apply to the Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus, involving extra expenses and fees, and was compelled to remain in the county jail pending its issuance. The ultimate unanimous determination by the Florida high court that the thirty-one appellants should never have been convicted in the first place merely serves to emphasize the harsh prejudgment involved in the denial of bail.

Although there are nine circuit judges, Judge Holt, as presiding judge, reserved all the contempt cases for his own consideration. At his insistence cases were held up while he spent a vacation in Spain and were presented to him upon his return. During the trials he attacked the defendants from the bench, permitted proceedings in his chambers to be televised, and found nothing improper in accepting a "patriotism" award for his handling of the cases even while some were yet to be tried and others were on appeal. Nor did he consider the fact that appeals were pending in one group of cases a reason for staying punishment in the others.

Three years ago Miami passed an ordinance requiring registration of all Communists or "followers of the party line" who remained in the city for more than forty hours. The ordinance also required that meetings of Communists be licensed and that all Communist literature be published in a daily newspaper before it could appear under its own imprimatur. This extreme ordinance was enjoined by Judge Holt himself as unconstitutional. Nevertheless, when the latest witch hunt started, the Judge dissolved his own earlier injunction.

The disbarment of the Miami attorney for pleading the privilege against self-incrimination—probably the first case of its kind in the country—is another example of Dade County Justice Circuit Court Judge Vincent C. Giblin both instigated the complaint and presided at the trial. Yet this was not the only sur-

prising feature of the case. Before he attained his present judicial eminence Judge Giblin was a lawyer for notorious gamblers, including Al Capone, and on one occasion was himself convicted of contempt, invoked the Fifth Amendment in his own defense, and was given a ninety-day sentence. But this did not stop him from saying, in his oral decision disbarring the Miami attorney:

I concede the witness's right, as it is the right of any witness, to refuse to testify under oath in response to a question when his answer may tend to incriminate him. He has that constitutional right, but he does not have the constitutional right to practice law, and the American legal profession demands and should demand that no lawyer invoke the Fifth Amendment in refusing to discuss frankly and openly his activities, so that we judges and lawyers of the profession may determine whether he is or is not loyal to the Constitution of the United States.

His subsequent written opinion turned out, in large measure, to be a paean of hate against "intellectuals" who, according to Judge Giblin,

give the greatest aid and comfort to the enemy. These pigmies on stilts who parade as giants are sometimes found in our institutions of higher learning, and waving their master's degrees they pose as the defenders of personal liberties and the promoters of international good will. But they only think they think.

Runyon hailed the disbarment as setting the stage for a local purge of the legal profession. Brautigam liked the decision so much that he wrote a laudatory foreword to it, reprinted the whole in pamphlet form, and sent out hundreds of copies—this in a case in which Brautigam was himself the prosecutor and in which the appeal had not been exhausted.

Some sections of the press and public did not permit the decision to go unchallenged, and the Judge struck back sharply. As a trustee of the University of Miami he denounced faculty critics as "snakes tempting students with Marxian apples." He charged that the editorial staff of the *Miami Herald* was infiltrated with Reds. And with the appeal still pending, he has been energetically defending his action in speeches before patriotic groups.

Not the least important cog in the Miami machine is the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Brautigam has no investigative staff other than Fred Jones, yet



subpoenas were served upon persons who were strangers in Miami and who, when questioned, found that information had been gathered about their activities and associations in their home states in the distant past. The relationship between the F B I, the grand jury, the press, and Brautigam remains unknown except to those directly involved. All the evidence indicates that it was close. Otherwise, how could it happen, for instance, that two witnesses in a recent New York perjury trial were newly recruited informers who had been turned over to the F B I by Brautigam's office?

### The Formula at Work

BY NOW it must be clear that a well-organized junta in Miami is cultivating the myth of subversive witchcraft practiced by large numbers of doom-bearing Reds. To the junta's operations the *Daily News* contributes the very considerable power of its headlines, capable of destroying the witches economically, the State Attorney and Judge Holt contribute the power to jail those who will not confess, and the F B I contributes its witches' dossiers. Each partner has much to gain. The F B I recruits reformed witches ready to identify their unregenerate sisters, the county officials can count on sensational press notices to further their political advancement, the *Daily News* is paid in headlines, circulation, and the opportunity to play Warwick to Brautigam. Already the State Attorney has been named Dade County Democrat of the Year. The runner-up? Dan Mahoney, publisher of the *Daily News*.

The Miami formula is basically a local product. A host of citizens' organizations have sprung up in support of Brautigam's objectives. The most recent is the Subversive Activities Commission, dedicated to forcing legal action against those exposed as Reds, to pressing for anti-subversive legislation, and to collecting information on subversive activities. The commission's directorate interlocks in many places with that of the Constitutional Club, a group with similar objectives organized by Charles Allen Gould, a close associate of Brautigam. Offshoots of the Constitutional Club are the Breakfast Club and the Freedom Club.

The Velde committee was a transitory

phenomenon in Miami, and not all of its activities were helpful to the local crusaders. The fact is that Chairman Velde, not normally addicted to moderate views on the problem of subversion, admitted after his hearings here that "the situation is not as bad in Florida as in other parts of the country." Despite several visits to this city the committee has yet to recommend a single prosecution for perjury. All this has irked the local crusaders. Runyon condemned the committee's performance as inept and noted that few of sixty "friendly" witnesses which Brautigam has at his disposal cooperated with Velde.

The engineers of the Miami formula have the support of a vociferous minority in this febrile tourist city, where the gangster, the crackpot, and fanatics of all sorts flourish amid the amused tolerance of the vacation-minded. Where but here could racketeers make a good thing out of a fraudulent appeal for funds to finance a probe into juvenile subversion? Yet despite the fear it has spread over this city's relatively small permanent community, it would be wrong to think that the Miami formula has not met with resistance, some of it heroic. Judges, newspaper columnists, clergymen, and other community leaders have spoken out. One of the most significant signs of the strength of the resistance is the recent election to the state legislature of John B. Orr, a forthright and courageous liberal lawyer who won in the face of skilled exploitation of the Red issue by his opposition.

There have been reports that a Senate judiciary subcommittee of the new Congress may launch an investigation of the denials of civil rights which have occurred in the course of probes into alleged subversion. The dangerous character of the Miami formula should give it a high priority in such a probe. Already it is having an effect beyond the border of Dade County. The state administration, thoroughly aware of the political benefits to be derived from a Red hunt, has entered its own St. George in the anti-subversion lists—the twenty-nine-year-old Ellis Rubin, who has complained that Brautigam has done no more than rework Crouch's territory. And Brautigam's chain letters, boasting of his successes in Miami, may yet find echoes in other communities.

So far as Miami is concerned, a re-

sponsible investigative committee could well begin its work by finding the answers to the following questions: (1) Who instigated the current Miami witch hunt? (2) Is there any relationship between the witch hunt and the growth in Florida of the Christian Anti-Jewish Party, which has as its chief slogans "Free America from the Jews" and "Defend the White Race"? (3) Is there any relationship between the drive to nullify the Supreme Court's desegregation decision and the witch hunt which intensified shortly after that decision? What is the relationship between the witch hunt and the newly formed Miami anti-desegregation groups? (4) Are Florida grand juries being manipulated by reactionary forces in the community for the purpose of attacking important federally protected rights of expression and association? Why were witnesses before the grand jury questioned so intensively about their activities in such organizations as the A V C, the F D R Club, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and the N A A C P? (5) Who financed Crouch's trip from Hawaii to Miami to testify in the disbarment case, in which he never took the stand? Who paid for the printing and circulation by Brautigam of Judge Giblin's opinion in this case? Have private funds been used to subsidize the evident invasion of the constitutional rights of Miami citizens by the state attorney's office?

In the meantime the Miami Chamber of Commerce ought to concern itself with the possibility that with all its sunshine Miami's repressive climate may ultimately repel freedom-loving vacationers.



Courtesy Dan Mahoney

"They called you an intellectual, Pa"

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